(N° 5)

Mr. *STEELE's*

APOLOGY

FOR

Himself and his Writings;

Occasioned by his

EXPULSION

FROM THE

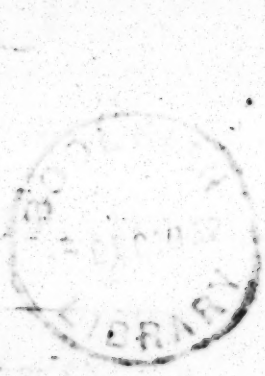
House of COMMONS.

With a MAP of the Places Adjacent to *Dunkirk*, and the Project of the *New Port* at *Mardick*.

Fabula Quanta Fui! Hor.

LONDON,

Printed, and Sold by R. Burleigh in *Amen* Corner. 1714. Price One Shilling.



TO

Mr. WALPOLE.

SIR,

WHoever Reads the following Apology, will easily allow me, that I am much less concerned for the Fame of a Writer than that of an honest Man. I have declared the Assistances I had in composing the Writtings which are here defended; for the upright Purpose, the innocent Intention of them, is all which I am anxious to assert. In Defence of Truth I incurred popular Hatred and Contempt, with the Prospect of suffering the want even of the ordinary Conveniencies of Life. The Probability of being undone I could not but form to my self when I took upon me what I did; but a Weight heavier than all this fell upon me, to wit, a Resolution of the Representative of my Country to my Dishonour. This indeed was a Blow unexpected; nor could it enter into my Imagination, that the Insolence of any Minister could run so high, as to demand of the House of Commons to punish one of its Members for being unacceptable to him. The Perusal of this Pamphlet will convince the Reader, there was not so much as the Appearance of any other Motive for my Expulsion. The Day of Debate was indeed a very memorable one, and the Persons concerned in it hudgely worth Suspending the Council

of a Nation. It was Remarkable however, that ſuch was the Force of truth, that the Member accuſed had not an harſh perſonal Expreſſion uſed againſt him; and the Miniſter, in the Midſt of all his Power, who brought on the Accuſation, was treated in the Manner which all Man-kind knows he deſerves. As for my Part, I ever thought meanly of the Capacity, though not, till lately, of the good Nature of that Demagogue, and ſaw very well his Audaciouſneſs would one Day ſuffer by his Ignorance. It was viſible, whatever became of his Country, which I believe had little Share in his Lordſhip's Cares, he would, with the Wand in his Hand, raiſe Powers which he would want Skill to command, and which conſequently would tear himſelf in Pieces.

But without dwelling upon the Contemplation of Miſchiefs wrought by a cunning wicked Creature, placed in a Station proper only for a wiſe and virtuous Man, I am now to give you my Thanks for your generous Defence of me in this great Adverſity. Your Behaviour was indeed equally noble during the whole French Adminiſtration, and your Eloquence was of publick Sevice to your Country, when the Prerogative was ſtrained to the utmoſt, not to exalt our own Sovereign, but to compliment *France* with the Greatneſs and Intereſt of her and her People. The Intervention of Providence has given us a Stand againſt the imminent Deſtruction which ſuch Iniquity and Folly had placed before our Eyes,

and

and Men in great Employments can now be ſafe without depending upon *France*,

I have mentioned *Dunkirk* till I am ſick, and there are not Words to repreſent the infamous Behaviour in a Miniſtry, to cover ſo great and pernicious an Impoſture upon their Country, as the Improvement of that Port under the Pretence of the Demolition of it.

You have the Honour and Happineſs to have eminently oppoſed all the Incurſions which theſe guilty Men made upon the Greatneſs of the Crown and the Welfare of the Subject, by proſtituting them both to their own ſelfiſh Deſigns, and deſtroying, as fare as in them lay, the good Name of all Men of Virtue and Service.

They have indeed reaped this Good, that there can be nothing ſaid of themſelves, the worſt Servants that ever Sovereign employed, but what they had cauſed to be laid to the Charge of thoſe who were their Predeceſſors; Perſons whoſe Abilities had raiſed their Country to ſuch a Grandeur, that nothing but the unnatural Induſtry of her own Miniſters could lower to the helpleſs Condition to which they had reduced it.

Theſe Evils could not have been ſupported, had not the Demagogues, by the Abuſe of Power, deafned many in the Legiſlature againſt Attention to the true Intereſt of themſelves and their Country; while an inconſiderable Creature who had the Good will of no Man, could manage Averſions skilfully enough to be ſuffered to deſtroy all, for fear of an Alter-

ation of Affairs that might be grateful to an oppoſite Party.

Were the following Inſtance of the harſh and odious Diſpoſition in Gentlemen to ſit determined, before hearing, the Concern only of me and mine, it would not be worth troubling the World with ſo many Words on the Occaſion; but neither what I now write, or what you much better ſpoke, is a Caſe of ſo little Conſequence; and when you undertook it, you knew you were pleading for the Rights and Liberties of the Commons of *England*; and I will take upon me to ſay, that there never was a greater Inſult on the Conſtitution than this, except one practiſed by the ſame Perſon without the leaſt Deference to the Order of things, the common Senſe of Mankind, the Honour of the Crown, or the Property of the Subject.

It needs not be ſaid what this greater Impudence was, nor who had ſo little Grace as to be guilty of it: It was he who was born in our Days for the Chaſtiſement and Diſhonour of them, a Tool whoſe Inſignificancy makes Sorrow, occaſioned by him, the Subject of Laughter, takes all Dignity from Diſtreſs, and renders Calamity rediculous.

As to my own Part under the fantaſtical Tyranny of the Demagogue's Adminiſtration, could what you ſaid in the Houſe be communicated to the Publick, I ſhould have no need of this Defence; but ſince I have not here the Aſſiſtance of your Eloquence, I beg the advantage of your Name and Character: For I know

it

it will be an Argument with every honeſt Man that my Cauſe was good, that you ſo zealouſly eſpouſed it; for that admirable Talent of ſpeaking, of which you are Maſter, has never been proſtituted to ſerve diſhoneſt Purpoſes; and you have too candid a Spirit not to eſteem it a Praiſe, rather than Diſparagement of your Eloquence, that the Cauſe for which you have at any Time pleaded, needed no Art, but from the Iniquity of its Oppoſers.

The happy Ability of explaining the moſt difficult Parts of Buſineſs to Men wholly unacquainted with Negociation, has been as uſeful to the Publick, as honourable to your Self. As you have detected the Artful, ſo you have helped the Ignorant of your very Adverſaries, according to their Intention to abuſe or ſerve their Country.

It has been ſaid, That the greateſt Art is to hide Art; but you have a much better Inſtrument towards Perſuaſion, the having nothing to conceal; for *Truth is as certainly the greateſt Eloquence, as Honeſty is the beſt Policy.* Let thoſe who ſpeak or act againſt their Conſcience, obtain their little Purpoſes and Applauſes; be it ever your Commendation to deſpiſe Artifice, and practiſe Uprightneſs. A long Courſe of ſuffering for your Zeal in an honeſt Cauſe, has gained you the Character of an *open honeſt Engliſh Gentleman*, with a Capacity which takes off the Imputation of Weakneſs from Simplicity of Manners, and adds the Dignity of Knowledge to the Beauty of Innocence.

As I never entered into Political Debates with ambitious Views, but have brought my Desires within the Necessaries and decent Conveniencies of Life, I am the more jealously tenacious of the little I expect of the World, which is only to accept of my Service to the best of my Ability, without loading me with unjust Reproach. In this reasonable Expectation Mr. *Walpole* generously lent me his Protection; and though he could not perswade my Judges to do me Justice, he convinced them I deserved a different Sentence from what they pronounced. But, alas, they had learn'd, by long Practice, to do shameful Things without being ashamed; and tho' your Arguments could command their Assent, it could not make them utter it in my Favour. You sent them away, I thank you, with the same Thoughts of themselves which you had of them; and whatever Force and Oppression determined, in the Eye of Reason & Conscience the Judges were convict, and the accused Man found Innocent.

I humbly thank you for your eminent Part in this Affair, and Congratulate you on receiving the Favour of your Prince for your Service to your Country.

As doing Good to the Publick is the Motive of conferring Favours, it is, with such as you, the Rule in enjoying them. I wish you the Possession of all your frank Heart desires; and am, with great Respect, SIR,

Your most Obliged, most Obedient, and most Humble Servant,

Richard Steele.

THE PREFACE.

THis Defence was Printed before the Death of Her late Majesty; but upon that Accident the Publication was deferred, lest some Handle might be taken to interrupt the Business of the Nation, by an Offence given to Persons who were principally guilty of the Oppression here Represented. They might possibly have attempted to borrow another Cast of Conscience in their Favour; and it was to be feared, that the same Tyranny which Punished a Man for a thing in which he ought to have been Encouraged and Supported, would have gone on to Condemn the least Murmur against its Determination. I have said Tyranny, because to resolve or act against Justice, Truth, or common Sense, is as much Tyranny in an Assembly as a single Person. But I must do the Majority of the House which Expelled me the Justice to own, that they carried themselves as Men Conscious they were doing Wrong; and no one appeared active in it but professed Slaves and Hirelings, that is to say, such as I have called in the following Narrative the Messengers of the Treasury: Members of the House who were immediately Dependant upon or Related to a Noble Lord whom I need not name, that sent Orders by his Kinsman

man to turn a Commoner of England *out of Parliament, becauſe it was not his Lordſhip's good Pleaſure he ſhould ſit there any longer. When a Man is out of Power, it is uſual to detract from the Fame of his high Talents and Qualifications: But I cannot be guilty of ſuch Injuſtice to this great Man; for never was Miniſter ſince the Creation more thoroughly Maſter of that great Neceſſary in him who meditates vaſt Deſigns, the Choice of Inſtruments.* Machiavel, *in ſome Part of his precious Writings, adviſes againſt the Choice of raw Murderers, for ſuch are apt to utter ſome ſoft Word flowing from Compaſſion, or other Weakneſs, for want of the Habit of Blood ſhed, which might ſpoil the whole Deſign. Our Heroe cannot be accuſed of being injudicious this way; and I have a thouſand times ſat in deep Admiration of his Choice of Agents, who if they had been the leaſt Grain more Rich, more poor, more fooliſh, more wiſe, more tall, more ſhort, more Knaves, or more Fools, had been unfit for the Work in hand. Had any Man againſt his Meaſures in either of the Aſſemblies more Eloquence, more Penetration, or more Credit than comes to a ſingle Member's Share, let ſuch a one open his Mouth, he ſhould be attacked with one who had as much Right to ſpeak as himſelf, with ſo firm Abſurdity, and then ſeconded by one juſt one Degree worſe than him, and a third Half-Fool pin up the Matter with an Aſſertion ſtill wilder, to the utter Confuſion of the Man in his Senſes, whoſe noble Faculty of adorning the Cauſe of Truth ſhould be immediately reduced to an Interjection of Sorrow, and down he muſt ſit.*

Such

Such was our Heroe's Manner of demoliſhing and fruſtrating all Perſons againſt him. The ſame Genius in diſappointing the Force of ſuperior Talents ran through all Parts of Buſineſs.

The Writings hereafter ſpoken of were an apparent Vindication of the King's Title to the Crown, and an honeſt Repreſentation of the dangerous State of the Nation. Now would any Man living believe, that it was in Nature this could be made an Accuſation before an Houſe of Commons? But ſo it was; and there appeared in it Fellows born and contrived by Nature for ſuch a Work; Creatures that could vex, but not make you angry, ſuch mean Inſtruments of Iniquity, that the Wickedneſs was diſparaged by their managing it, and the Flagrancy and dangerous Conſequence of what was doing, was hidden by the Inconſiderableneſs of the Agents. A Perſecution from them was like being troubled with Vermin. Tho' I had too much at Stake to be in Humour enough to enjoy the Scene, there was, with all the Cruelty of it, ſomething particularly Comick in the Affair. All the Men of Senſe in the Majority of the Houſe, tho' they did not deſign to deny a Friend a Vote, ſtood off, and left the whole Management to the Family and the Office.

The Onſet was made in the pooreſt manner, and the Accuſation laid with an inſipid Action and cold Expreſſion. The Accuſer arraigned a Man for Sedition, with the ſame Indolence and Indifference as another Man pairs his Nails: What was ſpoken appeared only a Rheum from the Mouth, and Mr. Foley, *as well as do what he did,*

did, might have blown his Nose, and put the Question. But tho' the Choler of my Accusers was corrected by their Phlegm, insomuch that they were harmless with ill Will; yet had they Perseverance to go on, insensible of the Raillery of the contrary Party, and the Contempt of their own. The most lamentable thing of all to consider was, that tho' there was not one Man of Honour, who spoke on the side of the Ministry, but did it upon general Terms, wherein he apparently discovered his Disapprobation of the Work he was about, so many honest Gentlemen should join in a Vote of Expulsion!

It is possible some Gentlemen might think in their Consciences, it is an immoral Action for any private Man to animadvert upon the Administration of the Publick. God forbid I should say there were not some worthy Men who were thus perswaded in this Case; but if they were so, I know not why they should, as Members of the House of Commons, punish a Man for what he did before he came into the House, especially since that Thing would have been laudable in him to have done, if he had been in the House.

All I shall preface further is, that I thought the Circumstances of Great Britain *and* Europe *were such as made it an honest and necessary Action to interrupt and oppose the Measures of the Ministry. When I thought it my Duty, I thank God, I had no further Consideration for my self than to do it in a lawful and proper Way, so as to give no Disparagement to a Glorious Cause from my Indiscretion or want of Judgement. A*

Work

Work againſt them I was the rather enclined to undertake, becauſe the Exceptions which were made againſt the Conduct of the Miniſtry ſeemed wild and calumnious, when written by nameleſs Authors; but when any Man with his Name aſſerted Things were amiſs, it would behove the Perſons concerned to prove it Calumny, or ſuffer under it; And I was willing to ripen the Queſtion of the Succeſſion upon my own Head. It ſoon appeared that there was ſo much Ground for what I ſaid in the Papers I then Printed, that it was thought much more proper to weaken the Validity of what I ſaid by Invectives againſt me, which came out ſtitch'd, bound, and in looſe Papers for ſome Months every Week, than gain-ſay what I aſſerted. In the midſt of this Treatment the Converſation happened which gave Occaſion to the CRISIS. *The Gentleman mentioned in the following Defence, as giving the firſt Hint to the Deſign, I need no longer conceal; it was Mr.* Moor *of the* Inner-Temple, *a Man perfectly ſkilled in the Hiſtory, the Laws, the Conſtitution of this Kingdom, and, in my poor Opinion, as capable of doing eminent Service, where thoſe Qualities are requiſite, as any* Man *in* England *not already employed. All I have to ſay further concerning him is, that I hope the* Mention *of this his great* Merit *may prove to his Advantage; and it is not to be imputed to me if he feels no Effect of publick Favour, for ſtarting ſo uſeful a Deſign as appeared in the* Criſis.

When the Criſis *was written Hand in Hand with this Gentleman, I, who was to anſwer for it with my*

my All, would not venture upon our ſingle Judgment, therefore I cauſed it to be Printed, and left one Copy with Mr. Addiſon, another with Mr. Lechmere, another with Mr. Minſhull, and another with Mr. Hoadley. I don't name Mr. Hoadley laſt becauſe I honour or depended upon him leaſt; For he has every good Quality, Talent, and Grace, that can adorn a Chriſtian, a Gentleman, and a Divine; and whatever Prejudice may ſuggeſt, I think it a great Defence that the Work paſſed his Hand. From theſe corrected Copies, (no one of theſe Gentlemen knowing till this Day that the other had ſeen it) the Criſis became the Piece it is.

When I was now fully convinced, that what I ſaid was juſtifiable in the Sight of God and Man, I thought I had an Opportunity of giving an Alarm to all honeſt Men, and diſconcerting the Counſels of Men I thought ready to attempt any thing they could act with Impunity, and who cared not, ſo they carried on their own Game, though they did it by bringing on their native Country the Imputation of Falſhood and Treachery, accompanied with Slavery, Poverty, and Diſhonour.

All this was plainly intimated in the Criſis, but expreſſed in ſuch a manner as to be within the Law, againſt thoſe who had the Adminiſtration of the Laws, and ſeemed to me to be undermining the Conſtitution. It was therefore reaſonable to act within the Law as far as a Man could againſt thoſe who made no Uſe of it, but to cover themſelves in making Encroachments upon it, and Tranſgreſſions againſt it.

Beſides the Care of reſcuing my own Name from a ſeeming Diſgrace of a Vote of the Commons, I thought

thought this Apology neceſſary to ſhew the arbitrary Uſe of Numbers in the moſt odious Colours, that Gentlemen may have a juſt Deteſtation of practiſing a Thing in it ſelf unwarrantable, from the Support only of the inſolent and unmanly Sanction of a Majority.

A LIST of the Gentlemen who Voted againſt the Expulſion of Mr. STEELE.

JOHN Harvey, *Eſq;*
John Cater, *Eſq;*
Sir Thomas Lee, *Bar.*
Sir John Whittewrong, *Bar.*
Sir Roger Hill, *Kt.*
James Stanehope, *Eſq;*
John Bromley, *Eſq;*
Sam. Shepperd, *Eſq;*
Peter Shakerly, *Eſq;*
John Trelawny, *Eſq;*
Sir Ch. Wager, *Kt.*
Hugh Boſcawen, *Eſq;*
James Craggs, *Eſq;*
John Hopkins, *Eſq;*
Edward Elliot, *Eſq;*
John Knight, *Eſq;*
Humphry Morrice, *Eſq;*
James Lawther, *Eſq;*
Gilfrid Lawſon, *Eſq;*
Tho. Stanwix, *Eſq;*
Sir John Rogers, *Bar.*
Sir George Byng, *Kt.*
Richard Edgecomb, *Eſq;*
George Treby, *Eſq;*
Sir John Cope, *Kt.*
Roger Tuckfeild, *Eſq;*
George Trenchard, *Eſq;*
John Burridge, *Eſq;*
Daniel Harvey, *Eſq;*
John Baker, *Eſq;*
James Littleton, *Eſq;*
William Betts, *Eſq;*
William Coventry, *Eſq;*
Thomas Erle, *Eſq;*
George Pit, *Eſq;*
John Hedwith, *Eſq;*
Sir Tho. Webſter, *Bar.*
Sir Iſaac Rebow, *Kt.*
Thomas Stevens, *Eſq;*
William Dowdeſwell, *Eſq;*
Benjamen Bathurſt, *Eſq;*
William Grimſton, *Eſq;*
William Hale, *Eſq;*
Sir Matthew Dudley
Robert Piggot, *Eſq;*
Lord Hinchinbrook.
The Hon. Sidney Wortley
Sir Robert Marſham, *Bar.*
Sir Samuel Ongley, *Kt.*
Robert Heyſham, *Eſq;*
Sir Thomas Johnſon, *Kt.*
Lord Willoughby.
Sir John Brownloe, *Bar.*
Sir John Thorold, *Bar.*
William Coateſworth, *Eſq;*
John Morgan, *Eſq;*
Sir Charles Turner, *Kt.*
Robert Walpole, *Eſq;*
The Hon. William Feilding.
Horatio Walpole, *Eſq;*
The Hon. John Fitzwilliams.
George Mountague, *Eſq;*
The Hon. William Egerton.
Paul Methuen, *Eſq;*
The Hon. Tho. Wentworth.
Earl of Hertford.
Sir John Jermayn, *Bar.*
Oley Douglaſs, *Eſq;*

Richard

Richard Hambden, *Esq*;
Lord Sherrard.
Lord Newport.
William Whitmore, *Esq*;
John Weaver, *Esq*;
James Medlicot, *Esq*;
Norton Pawlet, *Esq*;
Tho. Broderick, *Esq*;
Lord William Pawlet.
Walter Chetwynd, *Esq*;
William Thompson, *Esq*;
Sir Harvey Elways, *Bar.*
Tho. Maynard, *Esq*;
Edward Hopins, *Esq*;
The Hon. Carr Harvey.
Aubrey Porter, *Esq*;
Sir Richard Onslow, *Bar.*
George Evelyn, *Esq*;
Tho. Onslow, *Esq*;
James Cocks, *Esq*;
Paul Dockminique, *Esq*;
The Hon. James Brudenell.
Tho. Pellham, *Esq*;
John Morley Trevor, *Esq*;
Nathaniel Gould, *Esq*;
Francis Chamberlayn, *Esq*;
The Hon. Spencer Compton.
Lord Thomon
Lord Lumley
Daniel Willson, *Esq*;
Sir Richard Sanford, *Bar.*
John London, *Esq*;
Tho. Pit, Jun. *Esq*;
John Eyres, *Esq*;
Reynolds Calthrop, *Esq*;
Edward Ash, *Esq*;
Price Acourt, *Esq*;
John Eyles, *Esq*;
Sir John Russhout, *Bar.*
Joseph Addison, *Esq*;
Sir Tho. Reade, *Bar.*
Tho. Pit Sen. *Esq*;
Tho. Wylde, *Esq*;
John Rudge, *Esq*;
Sir William Robinson. *Bar.*
Sir William St. Quintin, *Bar.*
Sir Charles Hotham
Tho. Yorke, *Esq*;
William Pultency, *Esq*;
Hugh Cholmley, *Esq*;
Edmond Dunch, *Esq*;
William Strickland, *Esq*;
Thomas Frankland, Esq;
Ralph Bell, Esq;
Henry Prater, Esq;
Leonard Smelt, Esq;
Archibald Hutchinson, Esq;
Philip Papillon, Esq;
The Hon. Edw. Watson
Sir Robert Furnace, *Bar.*
Sir John Norris, *Kt.*
Philip Gibbon Esq;
George Doddington, Esq;
Robert Bristow, Esq;
George Nayler, Esq;
Thomas Jones, Esq;
John Montgomery, Esq;
Sir James Campbell, *Bar.*
George Baillie, Esq;
Collonel John Campbell.
Charles Oliphant, Esq;
Sir William Johnstown, *Bar.*
Sir James Stewart, *Bar.*
Alexander Grant, Esq;
William Steward, Esq;
Sir John Anstruther, *Bar.*
Henry Cunningham, Esq;
John Middleton, Esq;
John Cockburne, Esq;
Sir David Dalrymple, *Bar.*
John Steward, Esq;
Sir James Carmichael, *Bar.*
Tho. Smith, Esq;
Sir Gilbert Elliot, *Bar.*
Robert Monro, Esq;

Lord Fynch *was unfortunately shut out at the Division; but the noble Part he Acted in the Debate will ever be remembred to his Honour,*

Mr;

Mr. *STEELE's*

APOLOGY, *&c.*

I Have waited with much Patience during the Seſſion of Parliament, without offering at any Thing in my Juſtification againſt the Sentence which paſſed upon me on the 18th of *March* laſt paſt; which Sentence, and the Motives to it, are expreſs'd in the two following Reſolutions.

Reſolved,

That a Printed Pamphlet, intituled, The ENGLISHMAN, being the Cloſe of the Paper ſo called; *and one other Pamphlet, intituled,* The CRISIS, *written by* Richard Steele, *Eſq; a Member of this Houſe; are Scandalous and Seditious Libels, containing many Expreſſions highly reflecting upon Her Majeſty, and upon the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy and Univerſities of this Kingdom, maliciouſly inſinuating, that the Proteſtant Succeſſion in the Houſe of* Hannover *is in Danger under Her Majeſty's Adminiſtration, and tending to alienate the Affections of Her Majeſty's good Subjects, and to create Jealouſies and Diviſions among them.*

Re-

Resolved,

That Richard Steele, *Esquire, for his Offence in Writting and Publishing the said Scandalous and Seditious Libels, be expell'd this House.*

I hoped every day during the Session, to have heard other Writers called to an Account for their Errors as well as my self, especially those who had provoked me to say what gave so much Offence. In that Case I might perhaps have heard something alledg'd, that would have made it appear necessary in the Representative of the People, to censure as well those who are imprudently zealous for them, as those who are against them. But since they have Punished only me, who, if I am guilty at all, am guilty only of too forward Zeal in a good Cause; I say, since the Commons, to shew their Impartiality, have thought fit to distinguish only the Crimes of one of their own Members, by taking from him both his good Name and Seat in Parliament, while all other Writers pass unmentioned; that Member thinks himself at *Liberty* to do what he can to weaken the Force of that Censure, by a Narrative of all that pass'd in their House relating to himself, as well as he can recollect it.

If the Reader will allow me the Liberty of speaking of my self sometimes as a third Person, to avoid the Word I, (which often repeated even in a Justification, has an Offence in it) I will tell the Story very honestly.

It may, perhaps, appear undutiful to argue against what was acted by the Representative

of

of one's Country: But in order to keep us within ſuch Bounds, it is expedient, on their Side, to have a due Regard to the *Lives* and Honours of thoſe whom they call before 'em, and not to expect that, when they have laid the heavieſt Weight which they are able upon an Offender, he will be intimidated from diſputing the Juſtice of their Sentence by the Terrors of their future Diſpleaſure, which can have in Store nothing ſo terrible as what is already inflicted. The Reſolution againſt Mr. *Steele* carries in it all the Infamy that can be joined to the Name of a Gentleman, and they have certainly made him deſperate and regardleſs of what further they can determine to his Diſadvantage.

In inflicting Puniſhments, eſpecially where the Penalty is not preſcribed, there ſhould be always a Regard had to the Perſon who is to ſuffer; and whatever Senſe any Body of Men may have of Good and Evil, they ſhould ſtill ſuppoſe there are ſome Men who prefer their Integrity to all other Conſiderations, not excepting thoſe of Riches and Power.

Honour is the true Eſſence of a Man, and conſiſts in the Conſciouſneſs of Innocence and Honeſty. This, indeed, cannot be taken from him by the Outrage of Multitudes, or the Abuſe of Power. But though ſuch a Senſe of Reproach is to be the private Rule of a Man's Conduct, and will certainly prove the beſt Support under all Diſappointments and Adverſities, it is too abſtracted a Notion to carry him through the

Buſineſs of the World, without having a due Regard to Reputation and Fame. A Man's Reputation is the Dreſs of his Honour, and though tearing a Man's Cloaths, cannot hurt his Life or Limbs, yet if he'll allow them to be rent into Tatters, or patiently let Paſſengers throw Dirt upon them, he will be unfit to be received by the decent Part of Mankind in that Condition, from the Prejudice, they cannot but have to his Habit and outward Appearance; And conſequently, he will be unable to perform the Offices of Life, with Reſpect to others as well as himſelf. For theſe Reaſons, in ſome Caſes, a Man is neceſſitated to Appeal to all the reſt of Mankind, from the Judgment of thoſe who have pronounced him guilty.

To convince the World that Mr. *Steele* did not deſerve the Sentence before recited, I hope to ſhew that his whole Conduct as a Writer, in which Character only he has been charged in the Houſe, has been full of Inſtances of a quite contrary Tenor to that of which they accuſe him; as well as that the Paſſages themſelves which were brought againſt him, will not ſupport their Accuſation.

Anger, which is never wiſe, made a Man inconſiderable in himſelf of ſo much Conſequence, that while he was in the Houſe, People condeſcended, (as if to leſſen him, was carrying a great Point) to brow-beat and diſparage him. I know not how better to repreſent his Condition during that Time, than by ſaying he was the quite contrary to that Sort of Creature among

mong 'em, whom they call *a Favourite of the Houſe*. A Favourite of the Houſe, is one who ſays and does what he pleaſes, and is always acceptable, whatever he advances, becauſe he is ridiculous. Mr. *Steele*, with a quite oppoſite Fate, was to do nothing but what ſhould be diſlik'd, becauſe he wes Odious. This Diſpoſition againſt him appeared the very firſt Day of the Seſſion: What happen'd to him at that Time, was, the Entertainment every where for a whole Week; Therefore, I ſhall very circumſtantially relate it.

After two or three Gentlemen had propoſed Sir *Thomas Hanmer* for Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, Mr. *Steele* took upon him to ſay he had the ſame honourable Sentiments of that Gentleman in the following Words.

Mr. *Jodrell*,

'AT the Cloſe of the laſt Parliament, Her 'Majeſty was graciouſly pleas'd to Declare 'from the Throne, That the late rejected Bill 'of Commerce between *Great Britain* and '*France* ſhould be offer'd to this Houſe. That 'Declaration was certainly made, that every 'Gentleman, who ſhould have the Honour to 'be return'd hither, might make himſelf Ma'ſter of that Important Queſtion. It is De'monſtration, that was a moſt pernicious Bill; 'And no Man can have a greater Merit to this 'Houſe, than his, by whoſe Weight and Au'thority that pernicious Bill was thrown out. 'I riſe up to do him Honour, and diſtinguiſh

'my ſelf by giving him my Vote, for that his 'ineſtimable Service to his Country.

It will be impoſſible for the Reader to conceive how this Speech of his was receiv'd, except he has happen'd to have been at a Cock-Match, and has ſeen the Triumph and Exultation, which is raiſed, when a Volatile, whoſe Fall was ſome way gainful to Part of the Company has been necked. At the mention of the Bill of Commerce, the Cry began; at calling it Pernicious, it increaſed; at the Words, doing him Honour, it grew inſupportably loud: But having no Reaſon for being confounded for other People's Folly or Abſurdity. Mr. *Steele* bore the Inſolence well enough, to ſpeak out what he intended. He had Hardineſs enough to do it, from a Reſolution which he had taken, to govern himſelf by, when he went into the Houſe, which was to prefer the Fame of an honeſt Man, to that of an Orator. I muſt confeſs, I ſtand in ſome Amazement to find where the Redicule lay in the Words, *I riſe up to do him Honour*: The natural Meaning of which I take to be ſhewing him Reſpect, and not imploying that, 'tis an Honour to him, that 'tis I who do him that Reſpect: However, were it taken in the latter Senſe, in which Mr. *Steele* really did not intend it. I don't ſee the Abſurdity there would have been in it; he does not deſerve to ſit in that Houſe, who does not believe his Eſteem an Addition to the Perſon's Reputation on whom he beſtows it; for the good Opinion of an honeſt Man, is an Honour to the

the greateſt Man living. At the ſame Time Mr *Steele* does not attribute this particular Outrage to the Houſe, any further, than that they ought to have ſuppreſs'd it, and ſeverely obſerved upon it, by turning out the Offenders, who, 'tis ſuppoſed, were a Parcel of *Ruſti ks* who crowded in with the Members, before the Election of the Speaker, from a received Error, that there is no Authority in the Houſe till he is choſen. As he came out of the Houſe, he could hear nothing but thoſe loud Criticks talk to one another. *Oh! 'tis not ſo eaſy a Thing to ſpeak in the Houſe-- He fancies, becauſe he can ſcribble----* and the like deep Animadverſions. But to the Matter it ſelf.

On the 12th of *March*, 1713, a Complaint was made to the Houſe againſt certain Paragraphs in three printed Pamphlets, *one entituled*, The Engliſhman, *from* Saturday, Jan. 16. *to* Tueſday, Jan. 19. 1713. *wherein is a printed Letter to the* Engliſhman, *to which is ſubſcribed the Name* Richard Steele; *another, entituled*, The Criſis, *in the Title Page whereof it is ſaid, by* Richard Steele, *Eſquire*; *and the other, entituled*, The Engliſhman, being the Cloſe of the Paper ſo called, *in the Title Page whereof it is alſo ſaid, by* Richard Steele, *Eſquire*; *as containing ſeveral Paragraphs tending to Sedition, highly reflecting upon Her Majeſty, and arraigning Her Adminiſtration and Government.* Upon which the accuſed Member was ordered to attend in his Place the next Morning. He attended accordingly on *Saturday* the 13th, and

heard the ſeveral Paragraphs, in the printed Pamphlet complained of, Read. After which, at the proper Time, he ſtood up, and read a Paper containing the following Words.

Mr. Speaker,

'I have Written and cauſed to be Printed ſeveral Books and Papers with a ſincere 'Zeal and good Intent to ſerve my Queen and 'Country, the preſent happy Eſtabliſhment in 'Church and State, and particularly, the Proteſtant Succeſſion in the Houſe of *Hanover*. 'But I ſubmit it to the Houſe, whether, in Juſtice to the Defence that is due to every Subject of this Kingdom, I ought to admit, that 'either the Contents or Subſtance of the Papers laid upon your Table, are the ſame I 'wrote and cauſed to be printed, before I have 'peruſed and compared them; Eſpecially ſince 'every one knows it to be Fact, that falſe Editions of all Books, which ſell, are publiſhed 'every Day.

Mr. Speaker.

'THough I was ordered to attend in my 'Place before any particular Paſſages, 'if I am rightly informed, were read or 'objected to in the Houſe; yet now that I have 'heard what they are, I truſt to the Juſtice of 'this Houſe, that I ſhall have a reaſonable 'Time to peruſe and compare them, and if I 'find them upon Peruſal to be really the ſame 'which I wrote and publiſhed, I ſhall ingenuouſly own them, and hope to make ſuch a 'Defence of them as will be ſatisfactory to the 'Houſe;

'Houſe; for which, I doubt not but you will 'allow me ſufficient Time.

Since Time for comparing them was all Mr. *Steele* pretended to, the *Monday* following was propoſed for the Day of his Defence; but that was eaſily got over, upon his urging that the next Day was *Sunday*. After a proper Time to be allowed was debated for ſome Moments, and that the deſiring to collate the Papers was ſaid to be mentioned only as the moſt obvious Circumſtance abſolutely neceſſary for the Member's Defence, but that much more muſt be ſuppoſed as material, as that, for his Juſtification, the Houſe ſeemed in a very good Diſpoſition, which the accuſed Member did not think he abuſed in deſiring till the *Saturday* following. It was very faintly preſs'd that this was too diſtant a Day, till a particular Orator ſtood up, and endeavoured to warm the Houſe into an Indignation of treating, with ſo much Gentleneſs, ſo high an Offender. It cannot be expected that one can remember every Man's Name; but the Man I mean was of an enormous Stature and Bulk, and had the Appearance, if I may ſo ſpeak, of a Dwarf-Giant. His Complection Tawny, his Mein diſturb'd, and the whole Man ſomething particularly unfamiliar, diſingenuous, and ſhocking to an Engliſh Conſtitution I fancied, by his exotick Make and Colour, he might be deſcended from a Moor, and was ſome Purchaſe of our *African*, or other Trading Company, which was

was manumiſed. This Man, thought I, was certainly bred in Servitude, and being now out of it, exerts all that he knows of Greatneſs in Inſolence and Haughtineſs. The untam'd Creature ſtood up to turn off the merciful Inclination which he ſaw grow towards the Member accuſed; and with well-choſen Words and perſonated Vehemence, laid before the Houſe, That he, forſooth, was glad to ſee the good Diſpoſition Gentlemen appear'd to be in, and applauded their Tenderneſs; but at the ſame Time he could not but remark, that the Drift of the Writings before them was, to make the greater Number of the Gentle-men of *England* appear Jacobites and Enemies to their Country. I do not pretend to give exactly what he ſaid to this unjuſt and cruel Purpoſe; but it prevailed very much towards the Effect he deſired, and looſened all that was obtain'd on the Side of the Defendant in the preceding Part of the Debate, inſomuch that Mr. *Steele* grew in fear he ſhould have no Time at all allotted him; and therefore when the Houſe was going to divide one the Queſtion, Whether he ſhould be allowed till *Saturday* or not, he ſtood up and begged till *Thurſday*, in which Requeſt Mr. *Pitt* of *Worceſterſhire* had the Humanity to ſecond him, and the Affair was appointed for that Day without a Diviſion.

On *Monday* following, the 15th of *March*, believing a great Part of the Ill-Will which he had brought upon himſelf was owing to what he

he had writ about *Dunkirk*, he thought it would make for his Defence to have what pass'd relating to the Colluſive Demolition appear to the Houſe before his Day came on. Mr. *Steele* therefore (upon the Suggeſtion of ſome Friend's Voice near him to be very humble) had the Folly to pretend to move their Pity, by a Compariſon of the powerful Oppoſition againſt him from thoſe who were numerouſly related in the Houſe, and in ſuch Circumſtances as to draw all others to them; and repreſenting his own Condition ſo particularly unallied and unaſſiſted, that there was not one Man living of his Blood, nor he in Circumſtances capable of engaging the Friendſhip of any Man there, but from the Merit of his Cauſe. *I have*, ſaid that facetious Perſon, *this to thank my Adverſaries for, that their hard Proſecution has opened ſo good a way to the Breaſts of* Engliſhmen *as Pity.* From this ill judg'd quaint Harangue, which was received with much Coldneſs, he recovered himſelf as well as he could, by obſerving, That he never knew an unhappy Man ſpeak *but juſt enough*; and therefore would not wander further, but haſten to the Queſtion which he had prepared and held in his Hand, as of uſe to his enſuing Defence; which was, *That an humble Addreſs be preſented to Her Majeſty, that ſhe will be pleaſed to give Directions, that the ſeveral Repreſentations of Her Majeſty's Engineers and Officers who have had the Care and Inſpection of the Demolition of* Dunkirk, *and all Orders and Inſtructions given thereupon, be laid before*

before this House.. It passed in the Negative. And from that Moment Mr. *Steele* despaired of his Cause. He prepared his Mind as well as he could to meet with his Disgrace; and considered all that was to follow as a Farce, wherein heedless Men were to indulge their Curiosity, Mirth, or Cruelty, without any regard to Justice, or how far what they were doing would affect him or themselves. But *Thursday* the 18th is now come, and the Order of the Day for taking into Consideration the Printed Pamphlets complain'd of to the House being read, Mr. *Foley* the Accuser demanded that the Matter appointed for the Day might be entered upon, referring the Method of proceeding to the House. Mr. *Steele* chose to make his Appearance near the Bar of the House; and I will not forget to mention one Circumstance in this Scene that very much sweetned his Affliction, which was, that he had the Honour to stand between Mr. *Stanhope* and Mr. *Walpole*, who condescended to take upon them the Parts of his Advocates. The first Question proposed to divert the Company, was, Whether the Member accused owned the Writings or not? Upon which Mr. *Steele* stood up and said,

Mr. Speaker,

WHEN I was called up the other Day upon the same Occasion, I suspended the utter Acknowledgment of the Papers laid on your Table against me. I was advised to do so. What has hitherto

therto been insisted upon by me, was meer Formality, in favour of other innocent Men who may hereafter fall into my Circumstances. I now frankly and ingenuously own all those Papers laid to my Charge, to be Parts of my Writtings. I writ them in Behalf of the House of Hanover *and I own them with the same Unreservedness with which I abjured the Pretender. I humbly submit my self to this honourable Assembly, and depend upon your Justice.*

This occasioned a long Debate, and in the Intervals between the speaking of particular Members, the House called out, Mr. *Steele*, Mr. *Steele*, to begin his Defence; but his Friends directed him to sit still. The Dispute in a little Time ripened into this Question, Whether the Member accused should answer Paragraph by Paragraph, and hear what was urged against him to each, and thereupon answer; or that, now he knew upon what Heads he was Charged, he should proceed to defend himself? It seems it is the Custom on such Occasions, that if the Member withdraws without speaking for himself in the way the House prescribes to him, he is to have no further Opportunity before the House proceeds to Censure: It was therefore intimated to him, that now was his Time to stand up; and making use of his Papers he sometimes spoke, but chiefly read, as follows:

Mr. Speaker,

'YOU will eaſily believe I have not been in a very ſedate Temper ever ſince I came into this Houſe. When I compoſed thoſe Writings of which I am accuſed, I ſtudied carefully to avoid committing any Fault in them, and now on a Sudden I am to rack my Invention to find out Guilt in them. I have alſo been forced to apply my ſelf to the making my Defence Paragraph by Paragraph, as well as according to this Method, to which you have now been pleaſed to reſtrain me. From theſe Accidents, the different Opinions of Friends being ſuſpended between thoſe Opinions, Want of Sleep, and being preſſed in Point of Time, I am in a very ill Condition to make a *Defence*. But if you will forgive my Blundering and Stammering amidſt an Huddle of Papers you ſee in my Hands, not read over ſince Tranſcribed, and the References from ſome to others of them, not fixed in my Mind, you ſhall have the Truth of my Heart in this Diſcompoſure, which will I hope with generous Men do more for me, than what I could have produced with more Meditation. I muſt therefore, as well as I can, from Papers, which as I ſaid, I have not ſo much as read over ſince Tranſcribed, obey your Commands; and fall abruptly into the Particulars of my Defence, the Way to which I thought to make in a more gradual and unforced Manner, upon the Views I had before I came into the Houſe.

I have

I have not, I hope, written any thing with an improper Heat, tho' I have not ſhewn an Inſenſibility; and thoſe who condemn what Heat I have ſhewn, will at leaſt approve the Ends to which it was directed.

If my Wiſhes for the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, and my Zeal for that Succeſſion, which is the only Security under God of our *Laws*, our *Liberties*, and our Religion, have betrayed me into any Errors which I am not ſenſible of; I hope the Goodneſs of theſe Motives which occaſioned them, will be ſufficient to extenuate and cover them. I am ſure there are ſeveral Writers who have talked with as much Warmth and more Boldneſs for a quite contrary End, without giving the ſame Offence to thoſe in whoſe Power it has been to puniſh them: I ſay, Sir, that there are many who have written with as great a Zeal in a Cauſe which is Condemned as Treaſonable by our Acts of Parliament, and yet have had the good *Luck* to eſcape the Notice of thoſe who have had either the making of the Laws or the putting them in Execution. Beſides, whilſt I have thus preſerv'd my Temper, it muſt be allowed that no Man ever receiv'd greater Provocations. Thoſe Writers who declared themſelves the Profeſſed Advocates of the Miniſtry, and give themſelves the Air of being in the Secrets of the Adminiſtration, were the firſt Aggreſſors. They have loaded me with groundleſs Calumnies, miſrepreſented me in every Part of my Character, and

and have been as diſingenuous and unchriſtian in the Methods of publiſhing theſe falſe Reports, as they were in the inventing of them. When I had the Honour to be returned as a Member of Parliament, and was therefore preſumed to be ſuch, inſtead of being thereby priviledged from this infamous Treatment, I was only the more expos'd to it. Theſe Papers I am now ſpeaking of, prejudged my Election, denounced to me the Diſpleaſure of Men in great Places, and foretold that Storm which is now falling upon me, unleſs it be averted by the Juſtice and Honour of Gentlemen, who are the only Perſons that can interpoſe in this Caſe, between an innocent *Man* and an offended Miniſter. Such has been the cruel and ungenerous Uſage which I have met with from an Author who has ſeveral Times profeſſed himſelf a Champion for the Miniſtry, that no longer ſince than laſt *Friday*, he has fallen upon me with that Rage and Malice, which is unbecoming a Scholar, a Gentleman, or a Chriſtian, at the ſame Time that ſo great a Misfortune befel me as to be accuſed before this Houſe. As if he did not think that Weight heavy enough upon me, he makes his Court to his Superiors by determining the Cauſe which lay before this honourable Aſſembly, and repreſents me in ſuch a Character as I hope is due to no Man living. I cannot but take Notice of his laſt Paper, which if any Gentleman will be at the Pains of peruſing, he will find, (by what ſtrange Accident or concerted Meaſures I know not) that it is

a Brief

a Brief of the Charge against me before this Houſe. It was in Anſwer to this Writer that I firſt employ'd my Pen, and, as I thought, for the Service of my Country. This Man has repreſented Half of Her Majeſty's Subjects as a different People, who have forfeited the common Protection allowed them by the Conſtitution; but has never been called to account for it *as a Writter of Matters tending to Sedition.* He has treated the Fathers of our Church like the baſeſt among the People, tore in Pieces the Reputation of the moſt eminent Names in *Great Britain*, marked out ſeveral Members in both Houſes of Parliament, and endeavoured to render them odious to the Nation, when they have diſagreed with him in Opinion, or rejected any Bill which the Miniſtry had ſeemed to promote. He has vilified thoſe Perſons which are in Friendſhip and Alliance with Her Majeſty, and condemned Treaties which are ſtill in Force. He has trifled upon ſo melancholy a Subject as that of Her Majeſty's late Indiſpoſition, and repreſented Her as actually Dead, for the Sake of a poor Conceit, which the greateſt part of his Readers were not able to take, and thoſe who did could not but regard with Horrour. All this, Sir, the Author I am now mentioning has done, without being called to account for any Reflection *tending to Sedition, highly reflecting*

ing upon Her Majeſty, and arainging Her Adminiſtration and Government. In the Opinion of the World he has not only done all this with Impunity, but with Encouragement. It is chiefly in Anſwer to this Author, that thoſe Papers were written which are now upon your Table. I could not ſee without Indignation an Endeavour ſet on foot to confound Truth with Falſhood, and to turn the whole Hiſtory of the preſent Times into a Lie. I thought I might act with the ſame Safety in vindicating, as he did in attacking the Reputation of ſeveral innocent Perſons, who are unblemiſhed every where but in his Papers; and of many honourable Perſons, who by all Sides, are allowed to have deſerved well of their Country. And now, Sir, let every Britiſh Gentleman lay his Hand upon his Heart, and ask himſelf, Whether it was poſſible for a Man of any Spirit to have received thoſe private and perſonal Injuries which I have here mentioned, or for any honeſt Man to have ſeen others ſo barbarouſly treated, without giving ſome Looſe to his Reſentments. Sir, a good Name is as dear to me as it can be to the greateſt Man in *England*; and whoever employ's all his Artifices to make me appear Vile and Infamous, cannot be angry with me if I lay hold on what I think defective in his own Character and Behaviour, to expoſe it in the ſame Manner. I am ſure no Man of Honour, and it is my Hap-

Happineſs that this Aſſembly is compoſed of no other, would make ſuch a Sacrifice of himſelf to any, the moſt Powerful of his Fellow Subjects. I know no Law of God or Man that requires this kind of Reſignation or Self-Denial.

I have been the longer upon this Head, to ſhew Gentlemen that this great Affair which is now laid before them, has been hitherto, notwithſtanding the many Inſolences I have now recited againſt the greateſt Perſons in Church and State, only a Paper War between two private Perſons; and they muſt have but a mean Opinion of the Dignity of a Britiſh Houſe of Commons, who think they will make themſelves Parties in either Side of it. Beſides, Sir, I have another Reaſon for opening my Defence in this Manner, becauſe I find that the firſt Paragraph which is laid to my Charge, can accuſe me of nothing elſe, but of ſhewing a Diſreſpect to the *Examiner*. Here follows as it is marked againſt me, what I ſay in the *Engliſhman*, Number 46.

'But there is ſtill a Circumſtance in the 'ſame Paper of the *Examiner*'s, that may have 'a Conſequence yet more immediately pernici-'ous, and that is the laſt Sentence of it; *Since 'Her Majeſty is to be the laſt, we hope they 'will be obliged to own Her for the greateſt 'and wiſeſt of the* Stuarts. I cannot but think

'this Expreſſion uttered as lamenting in fa-
'vour of a pretended *Stuart*, in whoſe Be-
'half he ſighs, and ſays, *Since Her Majeſty is*
'*to be the laſt.* The natural way of ſpeak-
'ing his Senſe, in a Man who was in the In-
'tereſt of his Country, had been to ſay,
'*As Her Majeſty without Iſſue is to be the*
'*laſt*---- But whether his Inclinations be
'for the Pretender or not, I am ſure he pro-
'motes his Service in a very great Degree,
'when he endeavours to villify that Houſe of
'Commons which is now laying a Price up-
'on his Head.

'But let the reſt of the World do what they
'pleaſe, and delay their Proteſtations againſt
'theſe Evils as long as they think fit, I will
'poſtpone all elſe that is dear to me to the Love
'of my Country: And as this is, and I truſt
'in Providence will be my ſtrongeſt Paſſion
'to my Life's End, I will while it is yet
'Day, profeſs and publiſh the Rules by
'which I govern my Judgment of Men
'and Things in the preſent Conjuncture.

'Does this Action beſpeak ſuch a one a
'wiſe Man if he is for the Pretender, a Mad-
'man if he is for the Houſe of *Hanover*.
'Does this Poſition open a Way to the
'Pretender? Or does it further ſecure the
'Proteſtant Succeſſion?

'Theſe

'These are my Questions, which I make 'the Test of Men and Opinions; and if a 'Man does a thing that may advance the 'Interest of the Pretender or his Friends, 'and can no way do good to the House of '*Hanover*, he may swear to his last Breath 'that he is for that House, before he shall 'make me believe him. In like Manner, if 'People talk to me of hereditary Right, 'and then follow it with Professions for the 'House of *Hanover*, which can have no ad-'ditional Security from the urging of here-'ditary Right, I shall no more believe them '*Hanoverians*, than I shall think a Man re-'ligious who should make a blasphemous 'Discourse, and close it with the Rehearsal 'of the Creed.

'I speak all this because I am much afraid 'of the Pretender; and my Fears are en-'creased, because many others laugh at the 'Danger. I presume to say, those who do 'laugh at it either do not think at all, or 'think it will be no Day of Danger to them-'selves. But I thus early let go my Fire a-'gainst the Pretender's Friends, because I 'think my self a very good Judge of Mens 'Mein and Air, and see what they intend at 'a Distance. I own I have nothing to say for 'the Liberty I take now, or the Book I put 'out to Day, when no Body else talks in the 'same Stile, but what the Sailor did when

' he fired out of the Stage-Coach upon High-
' way-Men before they cried *Stand*; *Would*
' *you have me ſtay till they have boarded us*?

My Adverſaries muſt make the *Examiner* one of the Miniſtry, before they can bring the firſt of theſe Paragraphs within their Complaint. I cannot ſuppoſe that any Engliſhman can think me to blame for expreſſing my Love to my Country in the ſtrongeſt Terms, as I have here done. As to the Rules by which I profeſs to govern my Judgment, they are, I ſuppoſe, what none will controvert, as being of the Nature of Maxims or firſt Principles, which can admit of no Diſpute. The Paragraph that follows them is nothing elſe, but the Application of theſe general and undiſputed Maxims to a particular Caſe. I cannot imagine why any Gentleman ſhould mark it in particular, unleſs for the Sake of the Word *Hereditary*; a Word that teems with ſo many Diſputes; and which according to my Notion of it, is inconſiſtent with the Succeſſion in the Houſe of *Hanover*, which cannot be come at but by paſſing over many of thoſe who are the next Heirs in Blood. But it happens that I have explained my ſelf as to this Point in the *Engliſhman* Number 5, where I ſay,

' The unhappy Animoſities which have
' reigned amongſt us, have made each Side
' reduce it ſelf to an Abſurdity, from their
Vi-

'Violence in oppoſing each other. While 'the one urges a Parliament Title, his 'Warmth betrays him into Expreſſions diſre-'ſpectful to the Sovereignty; and his Op-'ponent expreſſes his Indignation at Prin-'ciples too near the Sentiments of Common-'wealths-Men, with carrying too far the 'Terms Hereditary and Indefeaſible. Let 'them both agree that the Queen is veſted 'in all the Rights inherent in the Crown of '*England*, and in Default of Iſſue, the ſame 'Titles devolved upon the Houſe of *Hano-'ver*. When we talk of Hereditary in 'general, all who can be perſwaded that 'the Pretender is the Son of *James* II, may 'be inſnared to conclude that his Title 'is ſuperior to that of any other upon Earth: 'But when we allow that the Act of Settle-'ment, and the other ſubſequent Acts, have 'well veſted all poſſible Title in Her Ma-'jeſty and the Houſe of *Hanover*; the En-'gliſhman has but one View before him; 'and any Title of the Pretender, of whomſoever 'born, is as remote as that of the *Tudors* 'or *Plantagenets*, or any other Extinct 'Family

'In this plain Rule for the Direction of 'our Obedience, we have nothing to divert 'our Thoughts from purſuing the real In-'tereſt of our Queen and Country; and all, 'as one Man, will join in a common Indig-'nation againſt thoſe who would perplex

'our Obedience, as faithful Subjects and 'Engliſhmen.

The laſt Paragraph expreſſes my Fears of the Pretender, which I muſt ſtill acknowledge; at leaſt I can ſee nothing criminal in them, till ſuch Time as it ſhall be made a Crime to ſay that the Proteſtant Succeſſion is in Danger. I thought I had Reaſon to apprehend this Danger, from the Power of one who had declared himſelf the Friend and Patron of the Pretender, from his preſent Reſidence with a Prince, who has been ineffectually applied to for his Removal; from the Apprehenſions of a whole Houſe of Commons in another Kingdom, where Men have been actually liſted for his Service; from Addreſſes ſent out of *North Britain*; from Books written and publiſhed in Vindication of his Title. I thought my Fears were not too early, when the Danger appeared ſo imminent; and I believe every Gentleman will concur with me, that it is more for the Safety of the Publick we ſhould, in this great Caſe, be affrighted with Imaginary Danger, than lulled into imaginary Security.

I come now, Sir, to thoſe Paſſages which are marked in the Dedication to the *CRISIS*. The firſt Paragraph runs thus:

'I will take the further Liberty to ſay, That 'if the Acts of Parliament mentioned in the fol-

N° Ireland

'low-

'lowing Treatiſe, had been from Time to 'Time put in a fair and clear Light, and had 'been carefully recommended to the Peruſal 'of young Gentlemen in Colleges, with a 'Preference to all other Civil Inſtitutions 'whatſoever, this Kingdom had not been 'in its preſent Condition, but the Conſtitu-'tion would have had, in every Member 'the Univerſities have ſent into the World 'ſince the Revolution, an Advocate for our 'Rights and Liberties.

I ſuppoſe, Sir, thoſe who have marked this Paſſage, would fetch an Innuendo out of it that I ſpeak diſreſpectfully of the Univerſities; an Imputation which I thought could never be laid to my Charge, as may appear by innumerable Paſſages that may be drawn out of Books which I have Publiſhed. It would take up the Time of this Houſe too much, ſhould I deſire that all thoſe Paſſages ſhould be Read; I ſhall therefore only beg Leave to make uſe of that Work which is intituled *The Engliſhman*, to vouch for me in this Particular. In the Paper of that Name, Number 12. I thus expreſs my ſelf;

'Our wholeſome Laws, large Proviſions, 'and the exemplory Characters of our Di-'vines, place them above the Neceſſity of 'practiſing falſe Arts, to be in 'themſelves, their Families, and 'their Poſterity, the moſt happy

Written by Mr. Steele himſelf.

'as

'as well as the moſt eminent of the People. 'If therefore they will at any Time ſeperate 'themſelves from the common Intereſt of 'their Country, ſuch Errors in them muſt 'neceſſarily render them, in Inſtances which 'might be indifferent in others, to a Degree 'Shiſmaticks in the Church, and Rebels in 'the State.

And I alſo ſay in the *Engliſhman* Number 34,

'I have ever been of Opinion, that our 'Univerſities, as they have been the ſtrongeſt 'Support of our Church, will be no leſs zea-
'lous for the Defence of our Ci-
Written by a Correſpondent of Mr. Steele.
'vil Liberties, whenever they 'ſhall ſee them openly attack-
'ed. One of thoſe illuſtrious 'Societies cannot yet have forgot, when, by 'a moſt unexampled Piece of Cruelty, Six 'and twenty of her Members, for refuſing to 'be guilty of direct Perjury, and bravely op-'poſing an illegal Commiſſion, were all of 'them deprived of their Fellowſhips, made 'incapable of any Eccleſiaſtical Dignity; and 'ſuch of them as were not then in holy Or-'ders, declared and adjudged incapable of 'being ever admitted into the ſame. I ſhall 'conclude with this Obſervation, *That theſe 'noble Foundations and Monuments of the Vir-'tue of our Anceſtors*, are in their very Na-'ture directly oppoſite to Tyranny and un-
limited

'limited Power; ſince as Ignorance is a natural Conſequence of Slavery, *Arts* and '*Sciences* may be properly called *the eldeſt* '*Daughters of Liberty.*

It appears by theſe, and many other Paſſages in my Writings, that I have retained the greateſt Honour and Eſteem for thoſe learned Bodies; in one of which I received a Part of my Education, and where I can ſtill boaſt of much perſonal Friendſhip and Acquaintance. But I believe, Sir, there are none among thoſe learned Societies, who will think I derogate from them by any thing ſaid in this Paragraph. They themſelves bewail their Misfortune, that ſeveral Nonjurors are gone out from among them, and ſeveral ſtill remain with them, who are the moſt able Defenders of that Cauſe, and who, if they had rightly ſtudied our Conſtitution as ſettled by Acts of Parliament, might have been as able Advocates for our Rights and Liberties. Sir, I have Reaſon to eſteem the Univerſities, as I had the Happineſs to have had a Part of my Education in one of them: And it is for the like Reaſon that I ſhall always have a Veneration for the Clergy, as having been bred up from my Infancy (which I know not whether my Accuſer was or not) in the Doctrine of the Church of *England.*

The Paragraph which follows in the Dedication of the *CRISIS*, is this:

'There

'There is one thing which deſerves your
'moſt ſerious Conſideration. You have
'bound your ſelves by the ſtrongeſt Obliga-
'tions that Religion can lay upon Men, to
'ſupport that Succeſſion which is the Subject
'of the following Papers: You have tied
'down your Souls by an Oath to maintain it
'as it is ſettled in the Houſe of *Hanover*:
'Nay, you have gone much further than is
'uſual in Caſes of this Nature, as you have
'perſonally abjured the Pretender to this
'Crown; and that expreſly, without any
'Equivocations or mental Reſervations what-
'ſoever; that is, without any poſſible Eſ-
'capes, by which the Subtlety of temporiſing
'Caſuiſts might hope to elude the Force of
'theſe ſolemn Obligations. You know much
'better than I do, whether the calling God
'to witneſs to the Sincerity of our Intenti-
'ons in theſe Caſes? whether the ſwearing
'upon the holy Evangeliſts in the moſt ſolemn
'Manner? whether the taking of an Oath
'before Multitudes of our Fellow-Subjects
'and Fellow Chriſtians in our publick Courts
'of Juſtice, do not lay the greateſt Obligati-
'ons that can be laid on the Conſciences of
'Men? This I am ſure of, that if the Body
'of the Clergy, who conſiderately and vo-
'luntarily entered into theſe Engagements,
'ſhould be made uſe of as Inſtruments and
'Examples to make the Nation break
'through them, not only the Succeſſion to

'our

'our Crown, but the very Eſſence of our 'Religion is in Danger. What a Triumph 'would it furniſh to thoſe evil Men among 'us, who are Enemies to your ſacred Order? 'What Occaſion would it adminiſter to Athe-'iſts and Unbelievers to ſay, That Chriſtia-'nity is nothing elſe but an outward Show 'and Pretence among the moſt knowing of 'its Profeſſors? What could we afterwards 'object to Jeſuiſts? What would be the 'Scandal brought upon our holy Church, 'which is at preſent the Glory and Bulwark 'of the Reformation? How would our pre-'ſent Clergy appear in the Eyes of their Po-'ſterity, and even to the Succeſſion of their 'own Order, under a Government introduc-'ed and eſtabliſhed by a Conduct ſo directly 'oppoſite to all the Rules of Honour, and 'Precepts of Chriſtianity?

A Man may own he apprehends that Holy and Recluſe Men may be miſled by artful ones, without any Imputation to their Characters of Weakneſs or Guilt. And I here only take the Liberty of all Writers, to ſuppoſe a Caſe which is not likely to happen; and by that Means to animate the Zeal of thoſe to whom I addreſs my ſelf, for that Cauſe; of the Juſtice of which they are already perſwaded. This is a way of arguing made Uſe of by every one who would bring over his Reader to a Zeal for what he advances

vances. What is more frequent than to hear from the Pulpit it ſelf, The Scandal that would be brought upon Chriſtianity, ſhould the Profeſſors of it deviate from thoſe Rules which it preſcribes? And it would be as juſt to ſay, that the Preacher does by this Method inſinuate that his Hearers are not Chriſtians, as it would be to imply from that Paragraph which I have now read, that our *Engliſh* Clergy are againſt the Proteſtant Succeſſion: Nay, I think, nothing can be ſo great an Argument that I believe they are for it, as thus laying before the Reader thoſe ſolemn Engagements that this Holy Order of Men have enter'd into for its Preſervation. But to take off all Poſſibility of an Innuendo in this Place, I have, in the Paragraph which immediately follows, diſclaimed every ſuch Implication; where I ſay,

'As I always ſpeak and think of your Ho-
'ly Order with the utmoſt Deference and
'Reſpect, I do not inſiſt upon this Subject to
'inſinuate that there is ſuch a Diſpoſition a-
'mong your Venerable Body, but to ſhew
'how much your own Honour and the In-
'tereſt of Religion is concerned, that there
'ſhould be no Cauſe given for it.

It would be very unfair to ſeparate my Words, and to pronounce a Meaning in them, which I have not expreſſed, when that which

I

I have expreſſed is a poſitive Denial of having entertained any ſuch Meaning.

Sir, I am afraid that thoſe who ſtir up this Accuſation againſt me, only make uſe of the Name of the Clergy to give it a more popular Turn, and to take off the Odium from themſelves, by the Uſe of ſuch Venerable Names. But I hope this Accuſation will be thought to proceed from the real Cauſe of it; and if any Hardſhip ſhould fall upon me, as I know there cannot, whilſt I have the Honour and Happineſs to be heard before this Houſe, that it will rather be imputed to the Reſentments of an angry Miniſter, than of an injured Clergy.

Sir, If I can arrogate to my ſelf any little Merit from the Writings which I have publiſhed, it is chiefly this; That I have perſonally oppoſed ſuch Authors as have endeavoured to Ridicule Religion, and thoſe Holy Profeſſors of it. I have received ſeveral Approbations in Publick and in Private, from Men in Holy Orders, for my concurring with them, to the beſt of my poor Abilities, in the Advancement of Morality, and in beating down that unreaſonable Humour which had prevailed with ſo many Writers to expoſe their Perſons and Profeſſion to the Deriſion of fooliſh and wicked Men. I muſt beg leave, on this Head, to produce ſome out of innumerable Paſſages which ſpeak with the utmoſt Deference and Reſpect of their Holy Calling

in

in general, and of ſome particular Perſons in it, for whom, I believe, moſt of the Gentlemen of this Houſe have a very great and juſt Eſteem.

I ſhall firſt cite one or two very ſhort Paſſages out of a Book called, *The Guardian*, which has been mentioned in this Houſe; and which was publiſhed not long ſince. The firſt of which Paſſages is in the 13th, 14th, and 15th Pages of the 1ſt. Volume, in the following Terms——

'I am diverted from the Account I was 'giving the Town of my particular Con- 'cerns, by caſting my Eye upon 'a Treatiſe, which I could not 'overlook without an inexcuſable 'Negligence, and want of Concern for all 'the Civil as well as Religious Intereſts of 'Mankind. This Piece has for its Title, '*A Diſcourſe of Free-Thinking, occaſioned by 'the Riſe and Growth of a Sect called Free-'Thinkers.* The Author very methodically 'enters upon his Argument, and ſays, By 'Free-Thinking I mean the Uſe of the Un- 'derſtanding, in endeavouring to find out the 'Meaning of any Propoſition whatſoever, in 'conſidering the Nature of the Evidence for 'or againſt, and in judging of it according to 'the ſeeming Force or Weakneſs of the Evi- 'dence. As ſoon as he delivered this Defi- 'nition, from which one would expect he did

Written by Mr Steele himſelf

'not

not design to shew a particular Inclination for or against any thing, before he had considered it; he gives up all Title to the Character of a Free-Thinker, with the most apparent Prejudice against a Body of Men, whom of all others a good Man would be most careful not to violate, I mean Men in holy Orders. Persons who have devoted themselves to the Service of God are venerable to all who fear him; and it is a certain Characteristick of a dissolute ungovern'd Mind, to rail or speak disrespectfully of them in general. It is certain that in so great a Crowd of Men, some will intrude who are of Tempers very unbecoming their Function. But because Ambition and Avarice are sometimes lodged in that Bosom, which ought to be the Dwelling of Sanctity and Devotion, must this unreasonable Author villify the whole Order? He has not taken the least Care to disguise his being an Enemy to the Persons against whom he writes, nor any where granted, that the Institution of religious Men to serve at the Altar, and instruct such who are not as Wise as himself, is at all necessary or desireable; but proceeds without the least Apology to undermine their Credit, and frustrate their Labours. Whatever Clergymen, in Disputes against each other, have unguardedly uttered, is here recorded in such a manner as to affect Religion it

'ſelf, by wreſting Conceſſions to its Diſad-
'vantage from its own Teachers. If this be
'true, as ſure any Man that reads the Diſ-
'courſe muſt allow it is; and if Religion is
'the ſtrongeſt Tye of human Society; in
'what Manner are we to treat this our
'common Enemy?

I ſhall cite another Paſſage, Sir, which is taken out of the 245th and 246th Pages of the Second Volume of the ſame Work, and contains the following Words.

'But if to inform the Underſtanding, and
'regulate the Will, is the moſt laſting and
'diffuſive Benefit, there will not be found ſo
'uſeful and excellent an Inſtitution as that of the *Chriſtian Prieſthood*, which is now become the
'Scorn of Fools,

This moſt reaſonable and amiable Light in which the Clergy are here placed, comes from that modeſt and good Man the Rev. Mr. Bartlett.

'That a numerous Order of
'Men ſhould be conſecrated to
'the Study of the moſt ſublime
'and beneficial Truths, with a
'Deſign to propagate them by their Diſcourſes and Writings, to inform their Fellow-
'Creatures of the Being and Attributes of the
'Deity, to poſſeſs their Minds with the Senſe
'of a Future State, and not only to explain
'the Nature of every Virtue and Moral Du-
'ty, but likewiſe to perſwade Mankind to the
Practice

'Practice of them, by the moſt powerful 'and engaging Motives, is a thing ſo excel-'lent and neceſſary to the Well-being of the 'World, that no Body but a modern Free-'Thinker could have the Forehead or Folly to turn it into Ridicule.

'The Light in which theſe Points ſhould be 'expoſed to the View of one who is preju-'diced againſt the Names, *Religion*, *Church*, '*Prieſt*, and the like, is, to conſider the Cler-'gy as ſo many Philoſophers, the Churches as 'Schools, and their Sermons as *Lectures* for 'the Information and Improvement of the 'Audience. How would the Heart of *Socra-'tes* or *Tully* have rejoyced, had they lived 'in a Nation, where the Law had made Pro-'viſion for Philoſophers, to read Lectures of 'Philoſophy every ſeventh Day in ſeveral 'Thouſand of Schools erected at the publick 'Charge throughout the whole Country, at 'which Lectures all Ranks and Sexes with-'out Diſtinction were obliged to be preſent 'for their general Improvement? And what 'wicked Wretches would they think thoſe 'Men, who ſhould endeavour to defeat the 'Purpoſe of ſo Divine an Inſtitution?'

It ever was my Sentiment, before I could have formed to my ſelf any Views of ſuch Engagements as thoſe I have ſince fallen in-to, that Reſpect to Clergymen and their Po-ſterity, are eſſential to the Good of a Society.

Give me Leave, Mr. Speaker, on this Occaſion, to read to you a Paſſage out of a little Tract, called, *The Chriſtian Heroe*; the 58th Page, ſpeaking of the Enemies to the Chriſtian Name, and the Perſons who envied the Clergy, run thus.

'But alas! Its State is as much Militant 'as ever; For there are Earthly and Narrow 'Souls, as deeply ſcandall'd at the Proſperity 'the Profeſſors and Teachers of this Sa-'cred Faith enjoy, and object to them the 'Miſeries and Neceſſities of the primitive 'Believers. Light and Superficial Men! Not 'ſeeing that Riches is a much more danger-'ous Diſpenſation than that of Poverty. This 'we oppoſe as a Foe, that we run to as a 'Friend; And an Enemy does his Buſineſs 'more ſucceſsfully in an Embrace than a 'Blow. But ſince the Neceſſaries, Conveni-'encies, and Honours of Life, which the 'Clergy enjoy, are ſo great an Offence to 'their Deſpiſers. They are the more engaged 'to hold them dear; For they who envy a 'Man what he has, would certainly ſcorn 'him withont it, When therefore they are 'both in good and bad Fortune irreconcile-'able to them, may they always offend with 'their Happineſs: For it is not to be doubt-'ed, but that there are Biſhops and Govern-'ours in the Church of *England*, whoſe de-'cent Hoſpitality, Meekneſs, and Charity

'to

'to their Brethren, will place them in the 'ſame Manſions with the moſt Heroick Poor, 'convince the Miſtake of their Enemies, and 'ſhew that the Eternal Paſtor has given his 'worldly Bleſſings into Hands by which he 'approves their Diſtribution; And ſtill be-'ſtows upon us great and examplary Spirits, 'that can conquer the Difficulties and En-'chantments of Wealth it ſelf.

I have carried this Inclination to the Advancement of Virtue ſo far, as to purſue it even in things the moſt indifferent, and which, perhaps, have been thought foreign to it. To give you an Inſtance of this, Sir, I muſt mention a Comedy called *The Lying Lover*, which I writ ſome Years ago, the Preface to which ſays.

'Tho' it ought to be the Care of all Go-'vernments, that publick Repreſentations 'ſhould have nothing in them but what is 'agreeable to the Manners, Laws, Religion, & 'Policy of the Place or Nation wherein they 'are exhibited; yet it is the general Com-'plaint of the more learned and virtuous a-'mongſt us, that he Engliſh Stage has ex-'tremely offended in this Kind. I thought 'therefore it would be an honeſt Ambition 'to attempt a Comedy. which might be no 'improper Entertainment in a Chriſtian 'Common-wealth.

Mr. *Collier* had, about the Time wherein this was publiſhed, written againſt the Immorality of the Stage. I was (as far as I durſt for fear of witty Men, upon whom he had been too ſevere) a great Admirer of his Work, and took it into my Head to write a Comedy in the Severity he required. In this Play I make the Spark or Heroe kill a Man in his Drink, and finding himſelf in Priſon the next Morning, I gave him the Contrition which he ought to have on that Occaſion. 'Tis in Alluſion to that Circumſtance that the Preface further ſays as follows:

The Anguiſh he there expreſſes, and the mutual Sorrow between an only Child and a tender Father in that Diſtreſs, are perhaps an Injury to the Rules of Comedy, but I am ſure they are a Juſtice to thoſe of Morality: And Paſſages of ſuch a Nature being ſo frequently applauded on the Stage, it is high Time that we ſhould no longer draw Occaſions of Mirth from thoſe Images which the Religion of our Country tells us we ought to tremble at with Horrour.

But Her moſt excellent Majeſty has taken the Stage into Her Conſideration; and we may hope from her gracious Influence on the Muſes, that Wit will recover from its Apoſtacy; and that by being encouraged in the Intereſts of Virtue, 'twill ſtrip Vice of the gay Habit in which it has

too

too long appeared, and cloath it in its native Dreſs of Shame, Contempt and Diſhonour.

I can't tell, Sir, what they would have me do to prove me a Churchman; but I think I have appeared one even in ſo trifling a thing as a Comedy: And conſidering me as a Comick Poet, I have been a Martyr and Confeſſor for the Church; for this Play was dam'd for its Piety.

I ſhall in the laſt Place, Sir, with your Allowance, quote ſome Paſſages out of another Book, intituled, *The Tatler*; the firſt of which is in the 37th Page of the firſt Volume, publiſhed in 1710, as follows.

Will's Coffee-Houſe, April 20, 1709.

Written by Mr. *Steele* himſelf.

'THIS Week being Sacred to Holy Things, and no Publick Diverſions allowed, there 'has been taken Notice of, even here, a little Treatiſe, called, *A Project for the Advancement of Religion; dedicated to the Counteſs of* Berkeley. The 'Title was ſo uncommon, and promis'd 'ſo peculiar a way of Thinking, that 'every Man here has read it, and as many 'as have done ſo have approved it. It is 'written with the Spirit of one who has ſeen 'the World enough to undervalue it with 'good Breeding. The Author muſt certain-

‘ ly be a Man of Wiſdom as well as Piety, ‘ and have ſpent much time in the Exerciſe ‘ of both. The Real Cauſes of the Decay of ‘ the Intereſt of Religion, are ſet forth in a ‘ clear and lively Manner, without unſea- ‘ ſonable Paſſions; and the whole Air of the ‘ Book, as to the Language, the Sentiments ‘ and the Reaſonings, ſhow it was written ‘ by one whoſe Virtue ſits eaſy about him, ‘ and to whom Vice is throughly contemp- ‘ tible. It was ſaid by one of this Compa- ‘ ny, alluding to that Knowledge of the ‘ World the Author ſeems to have; The ‘ Man writes much like a Gentleman, and ‘ goes to Heaven with a very good Mien.

The Gentleman *I* here intended was Dr. *Swift*; this kind of Man *I* thought him at that time: We have not met of late, but *I* hope he deſerves this Character ſtill.

The ſecond Paſſage which *I* ſhall cite out of that Work, is in the 116th and 117th Pages of the ſecond Volume, publiſhed in the ſame Year 1710.

Written by Mr. *Steele* himſelf.

‘ The Dean, we heard the o- ‘ ther Day, together, is an Ora- ‘ tor. He has ſo much regard to ‘ his Congregation, that he committs to his ‘ *M*emory what he is to ſay to them; and has ‘ ſo ſoft and graceful a Behaviour that it muſt ‘ attract your Attention. His Perſon, it is ‘ to be confeſſed, is no ſmall Recommenda- ‘ tion;

' tion; but he is to be highly commended for ' not losing that Advantage, & adding to the ' Propriety of Speech, (which might pass the ' Criticism of *Longius*) an Action which would ' have been approved by *Demosthenes*. He has ' a peculiar Force in his way, and has many of ' his Audience, who could not be *Intelligent* ' Hearers of his Discourse, were there not ' Explanation as well as Grace in his Action. This Art of his is used with most Exact ' and Honest Skill. He never Attempts your ' Passions till he has convinc'd your Reason. ' All the Objections which he can form are ' laid open and dispersed, before he uses the ' least Vehemence in his Sermon; but when ' he thinks he has your Head, he very soon ' wins your Heart; and never pretends to ' show the Beauty of Holiness, till he hath ' convinced you of the Truth of it.

The third Passage which I shall cite from that Work, is taken out of the 168th and 169th Pages of the same Volume.——

' This Matter is too sacred for ' this Paper; but I can't see what In- ' jury it would do any Clergyman, ' to have it in his Eye, and believe, all that ' are taken from him by his want of Industry, ' are to be demanded of him. I dare say, ' *Favonius* has very few of these Losses. *Favonius*, in the midst of a thousand Impertinent

Written by Mr *Steele* himself

' nent Aſſailants of the Divine Truths, is an
' undiſturbed Defender of 'em. He protects
' all under his Care, by the Clearneſs of his
' Underſtanding and the Example of his Life.
' He viſits dying Men with the Air of a Man
' who hopes for his own Diſſolution, and en-
' forces in others a Contempt of this Life, by
' his own Expectation of the next. His Voice
' and Behaviour are the lively Images of a
' compos'd and well govern'd Zeal. None
' can leave him for the frivolous *Jargon* of
' the Ordinary Teachers among Diſſenters,
' but ſuch who cannot diſtinguiſh Vociferati-
' on from Eloquence, and Argument from
' Railing. He is ſo great a Judge of Man-
' kind, and touches our Paſſions with ſo Su-
' perior a Command, that he who deſerts his
' Congregation muſt be a Stranger to the
' Dictates of Nature, as well as to thoſe of
' Grace.

In fine Sir, the laſt Paſſage which I ſhall cite out of that Work, is taken from the Preface to the fourth Volume, publiſhed in 1711, where it is ſaid,

' What a Man obtains from the good Opi-
' nion and Friendſhip of worthy Men, is a
' much greater Honour than he can poſſibly
' reap from any Accompliſhments of his own.
' But all the Credit of Wit, which was given
' me by the Gentlemen above-mentioned

' (with

' (with whom I have now Accounted) has
' not been able to Attone for the Exceptions
' made againſt me for ſome Raillery in behalf
' of that learned Advocate for the Epiſcopa-
' cy of the Church and Liberty of the People,
' Mr. *Hoadley*. I mention this only to de-
' fend my ſelf againſt the Imputation of be-
' ing moved rather by Party than Opinion;
' and I think it is apparent I have with the
' utmoſt Frankneſs allowed Merit where-
' ever I found it, though joined in Intereſts
' different from thoſe for which I have de-
' clared my ſelf. When my *Favonius* is ac-
' knowledged to be Dr. *Smalridge*, and the
' amiable Character of the Dean in the ſixty
' ſixth *Tatler*, drawn for Dr. *Atterbury*, I
' hope I need ſay no more as to Impartiality.

Sir, I ſhall give you no more Inſtances on this Head, but ſhall beg that common Candour from Gentlemen, which is allow'd to every Body; that if my Intention ſhould appear Doubtful or Suſpicious in any one Paſſage, it may be explained by others which are more plainly and fully expreſſed. Sir, ſince I have touched upon the word *Religion*, I hope I may be indulged one Sentence more before I quit this Head, and if I ſpeak as a Fool, that you will bear with me. I have in ſeveral of my Writings eſpouſed the Intereſts of Virtue and Religion, and have Reaſon to hope I have been of ſome uſe to the Publick

upon

upon that account. Why may not theſe now plead for me? I wiſh thoſe who have written againſt me, and have contributed their utmoſt to bring me into my preſent Misfortune, may in their Day of Adverſity have the ſame Foundation for Support in themſelves, and Claim to your Favour.

I now come, Sir, to the Paſſages marked in the firſt and ſecond Pages of the *Criſis*.

'But ſince, by I know not what Fatality, we are of late grown Supine, and our Anxiety for * It is abated, in proportion to the Danger to which it is every Day more expoſed, by the artful and open Attacks of the Enemies of our Conſtitution: It is a Seaſonable and Honeſt Office to look into our Circumſtances; and let the Enemies of our preſent Eſtabliſhment behold the Securities which the Laws of the Country have given thoſe who dare aſſert their Liberties, and the Terrors they have pronounced againſt thoſe who dare undermine them. For, whatever is the Proſpect before our Eyes, it is the buſineſs of every honeſt Man, to look up with a Spirit that becomes Honeſty, and to do what in him lies for the Improvement of our preſent Condition, which nothing but our own Puſillanimity can make deſperate.

* *Speaking of Liberty.*

'The

'The moſt deſtructive Circumſtance in 'our Affairs ſeems to be, that by the long 'and repeated Inſinuations of our Enemies, 'many are worn into a kind of Doubt of their 'own Cauſe, and think with Patience of 'what is Suggeſted in favour of contrary 'Pretenſions. The moſt obvious Method of 'reviving the proper Sentiments in the 'Minds of Men, for what they ought to 'eſteem moſt dear, is to ſhew, that our Cauſe 'has in it all the Sanctions of Honour, Truth, 'and Juſtice; and that we are, by all the 'Laws of God and Man, inſtated in a con-'dition of enjoying Religion, Life, Liberty 'and Property, reſcued from the moſt im-'minent Danger of having them all for ever 'depend upon the Arbitrary Power of a Po-'piſh Prince.

I muſt here beg leave, Sir, to read the two or three following Lines which are not marked, becauſe they explain this latter part of this laſt Paragraph, and ſhow to whom theſe Words are applied, where it is ſaid, *That we are by all the Laws of God and Man, inſtated in a Condition of enjoying Religion, Life, Liberty, and Property, reſcued from the moſt imminent Danger of having them all for ever depend upon the Arbitrary Power of a Popiſh Prince.* The following Paragraph, which determines theſe words, runs thus,

'We

'We ſhou'd have been chained down in 'this abject Condition, in the Reign of the 'late King *James*, had not God Almighty in 'Mercy given us the late happy Revolution, 'by that *Glorious Inſtrument of his Providence* 'the *Great and Memorable King* William.

And now, Sir, can any one ſay, that we were not inſtated in a Condition of enjoying Religion, Life, Liberty, and Property, by the late happy Revolution? Or that we were not before in the moſt imminent Danger of having them all depend upon the Arbitrary Power of a Popiſh Prince? I appeal to the Acts of Parliament quoted in this Book; and might appeal, as I am told, to a Report of the Grievances of this Kingdom, under the Reign of King *Ja.* II. made to this Houſe by *Paul Foley*, Eſq; Father to the Gentleman who has ſo remarkably diſtinguiſh'd himſelf againſt me this Day. This Report, as I am told, explains by a multitude of Inſtances, drawn up in the ſtrongeſt Terms, the ſeveral Particulars which I have here juſt touch'd upon. If the Houſe thinks fit that I ſhould in this Place have the Aſſiſtance of the Father againſt the Son, I will deſire that that Report may now be Read: Or, if that be not thought fit, ſhall go on with my Defence.

In this Mr. Steele *was miſinformed, for there did not upon Examination appear any ſuch Circumſtance of* Paul Foley *Eſq; but he was a very Worthy Man tho' Father to this Squire* Thomas.

And here, Sir, I think I may ſave you a great

great deal of Time, by laying down a General Rule which every one will agree, ought to take place in the Peruſal of any Writing. That which I ſhall inſiſt on is this; that if an Author's Words, in the obvious and nateral Interpretation of them, have a Meaning which is Innocent, they cannot without great Injuſtice be condemned of another Meaning which is Criminal. If the the ſame Expreſſion may be applied to differenſt Perſons, and according to ſuch Application may be conſtrued in my Favour or to may Prejudice, why ſhould my Words be applied to hurt me, when they may more Naturally be applied in ſuch a Manner as is not capable of incurring Cenſure? Thus, Sir, when I mention in the Paragraph I have juſt now read, *The Artful and open Attacks of the Enemies of our Conſtitution, The Enemies of our preſent Happy Eſtabliſhment, The Terrors which are pronounc'd againſt thoſe who dare undermine our Liberties*; why muſt all theſe and the like Expreſſions be applyed to a Miniſter, when there are ſuch Numbers of Popiſh Emiſſaries, Jacobites and Nonjurors, to whom theſe Expreſſions by a Natural and unforced Conſtruction are very Applicable? Does not the Suppoſition of ſuch an Inuendo reflect highly upon a Miniſter who has given no Occaſion for it? Is a Man Seditious, who ſpeaks in plain and open Terms againſt the Enemies of our Conſtitution and Country? Or, is it impoſ-

impoſſible to make uſe of thoſe Words, without comprehending under them, Perſons, whom it is Criminal to attack? By this way of arguing, it is not in the Power of Words to be free from unwarrantable Hints and Innuendos. Thus, Sir, in the next Paragraph, where mention is made, of *indirect Arts and mean Subtleties practiſed to weaken our Securities*——are not theſe Words as general as poſſible, applicable to Multitudes of open Enemies and diſaffected Perſons, both in Foreign Dominions and in her Majeſty's Kingdoms? or will any one ſay that indirect Arts and mean Subtleties can be practiſed only by one Man in the Kingdom? When there are two different Interpretations to be put upon any Expreſſion, will any Gentleman of Candour and Humanity, regard that only which carries Guilt in it? eſpecially when the Interpretation which muſt render ſuch Expreſſion Criminal, is violent and forced, whereas the other that renders them Innocent is obvious and natural? I ſhall, after this, beg leave to read in this Light, the next Paragraph marked in the *Criſis*, page 2.

'I flatter my ſelf that if the Paſſages which 'happened in thoſe Days, the Reſloutions 'of the Nation thereupon, and the juſt 'Proviſions made from Time to Time, a-'gainſt our falling into the ſame Diſaſters, were

'were fairly ſtated and laid in one View all 'indirect Arts and mean Subtleties pra- 'ctiſed to weaken our Securities would be 'fruſtrated, and vaniſh before the glaring 'Light of Law and Reaſon.

I cannot conceive why the other Paragraph that follows pag 2d, and 3d, ſhould have been marked, ſince it is no Crime, nor any way tends to Sedition, to ſpeak in Honour of Parliaments, or to quote Acts of Parliament. Here it is——

'I ſhall not govern my ſelf on this Occa- 'ſion, by the partial Relations of particular 'Perſons or Parties, but by the Senſe of the 'whole People, by the Senſe of the Houſes 'of Lords and Commons, the Repreſentative 'Body of the whole Nation; in whoſe 'Reſolutions, according to the different State 'of the Things, the Condition of the King- 'dom, by thoſe who had the greateſt Stakes 'in it, has been from Time to Time Plainly, 'Impartially and Pathetically expreſſed.

The next Paſſage is in the *Criſis*, page 27.

'And all this hath been done in ſo open 'a Manner, and in ſo Expreſſive and plain 'Terms, that one cannot but think that our 'Popiſh or Jacobite Party, who have been of late ſo bold, both in Writing and Speak

' ing againſt the Settlement of the Crown of
' *Great-Britain* in the Proteſtant Line, and
' cannot poſſibly plead Ignorance of theſe
' Things, muſt have ſome unaccountable
' Encouragement for their Support.

I here ſay that thoſe who write or ſpeak boldly and knowingly contrary to the Tenor of Acts of Parliament, which I have before cited, and which are now in Force, muſt have ſome Unaccountable Encouragement for their Support; and the Reaſon is very plain, becauſe ſuch a Perſon is declared liable to the moſt grievous Penalties who does act or ſpeak after ſuch a Manner; But whether this unaccountable Encouragement comes from the Pretender himſelf, the *French* Court, or the Dukes of *Lorain* or *Savoy*, whoſe *Intereſt* it may be to give them ſuch Encouragement, *I* do not pretend to determine: And *I* hope it will not be ſaid, that *I* do pretend to Account for ſuch an Encouragement which *I* do here plainly declare to be Unaccountable.

The two next Paragraphs are only a Narrative or Relation of Matters of Fact, which I conceived I might ſet down with that Liberty which is allowed to the moſt common News-Writer. Here they follow.

' ' If the beating the Enemy in the Field,
' and being too vigilant for their Councils in

in

' in Foreign Courts were effectual Means
' towards ending the War, and reducing
' them to a Condition too low, for giving
' freſh Diſturbance to *Europe*, the Duke of
' *Marlborough* took juſt Meaſures: But,
' however Unaccountable it may appear to
' Poſterity, that General was not permitted
' to enjoy the Fruits of his Glorious Labours:
' But, as *France* chang'd her Generals for
' want of Succeſs in their Conduct; ſo *Britain*
' Changes hers, after an uninterrupted Series
' of Conqueſt: The Minds of the People,
' againſt all Common Senſe, are debauch'd
' with Impreſſions of the Duke's Affectation
' of prolonging the War for his own Glory;
' and his Adverſaries attack a Reputation
' which could not well be impaired, without
' ſullying the Glory of *Great Britain* it ſelf.
' His Enemies were not to be ſoftned by that
' Conſideration; he is diſmiſs'd, and ſoon af-
' ter a Ceſſation of Arms between *Great Bri-*
' *tain* and *France* is publiſh'd at the Head of
' the Armies. The *Britiſh*, in the midſt of
' the Enemies Gariſons, withdraw them-
' ſelves from their Confederates. The *French*
' now no longer having the *Britains*, or their
' Great Leader to fear, affect no more ſtrong
' Gariſons and fortified Camps, but attack
' and rout the Earl of *Albemarle* at *Denain*
' and neceſſitate the brave Prince *Eugene* to
abandon *Landrecy*, a Place of ſuch Import-

' ance that it gave Entrance into the Heart
' of *France* Of which the *French* King was
' ſo ſenſible, that before he was recovered
' from his Fright, he acknowledg'd he owed
' in a manner his Crown, to the Suſpenſion of
' Arms between him and *Great-Britain.*
' The Suſpenſion is follow'd by a Treaty of
' Peace at *Utrecht.* The Peace is concluded be-
' tween *Great Britain* and *France*, and between
' *France* and the *States-General.* The Emperor
' and the Empire continue the War! I ſhall not
' preſume to enter into an Examination of
' the Articles of Peace between us and *France*;
' but there can be no Crime in affirming (if
' it be a Truth) that the Houſe of *Bourbon*
' is at this Juncture become more formidable,
' and bids fairer for an univerſal Monarchy,
' and to engroſs the whole Trade of *Europe*,
' than it did before the War.

' All the World knows with what Frank-
' neſs the *Dutch* have been treated to deliver
' up *Traerbach* to the *Imperialiſts*, as an
' Expedient for the *French* to beſiege it;
' becauſe forſooth it lies convenient for their
' Incurſions upon the Empire. This Extra-
' vagant Demand muſt give a melancholy
' Proſpect to other Nations.

If it be a Crime to ſpeak honourably of the Duke of *Marlborough*, it is a Crime that I muſt always be guilty of, and is that which

in ſtead of denoting me a Stirrer up of Sedition, declares me to be *a Lover of my Country*. If I am rightly informed, that Great Man, when a Circumſtance relating to him was under your Conſideration during the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, was mentioned in this Place, not only with Deference and Reſpect, but with the higheſt Encomiums by the moſt Eminent Members of this Houſe. And I hope, the moſt private Man may take the liberty of expreſſing his Gratitude to the Duke of *Marlborough*, ſince there is no private Man in *England* who is not obliged to him. Thoſe who are repreſented as his Adverſaries and Enemies, are only thoſe who will always be ſo; I mean ſuch who are Friends to the Pretender and the *French* King, whoſe Hopes he hath often and glorioufly defeated. If any one queſtions what I have ſaid concerning the *French* King's Letter, upon the raiſing of the Siege of *Landrecy*, let him read that Letter, and ſee what other Interpretation can be put upon it.

The laſt Sentence of this Paragraph I think defends it ſelf, and is founded upon this Maxim, which I fancy no Gentleman will deny, That it is not a Crime to ſpeak the Truth. Here is what follows in the 31ſt and 32d Pages of the *Criſis*.

'The moſt important Article between '*France* and *England*, is the Demolition of

'*Dunkirk*; which they have begun con-
'temptuouſly and Arbitrally their own way.
'The Mole and Harbour, which only are
'dreadful to us, are yet untouch'd; and juſt
'Suſpitions given that they ever will be.

Sir, I always poſtpone my own private Safety to that of my Country; and therefore heartily wiſh that I lay open to the Cenſure of this Houſe for what I have here advanced. I ſay, Sir, that I heartily wiſh, tho' I might have fared the worſe for it at this Time, that the Event did not Juſtifie thoſe Apprehenſions, which I have here, and in other Papers expreſſed, in relation to *Dunkirk*. I have regulated my Thoughts on that Subject, by the Treaty of Peace which has been publiſhed for the Perſuſal of her Majeſty's Subjects. It was thereby Stipulated, that the Mole and Harbour ſhould be firſt Demoliſhed: But inſtead of this, the *French* (for it is there I lay the blame) have only demoliſhed the Fortifications towards the Land; and thus, as I have ſaid in another place, the Queen's Garriſon is expoſed, by levelling the Works, to the Mercy of the *French*; and the Mole and Harbour, which were firſt to be Demoliſhed, ſtand as they did. Will any one ſay that this Proceeding of the *French*, ſo contrary to what was ſtipulated by the Articles of Peace, is not begun Contemptuouſly and Arbitrarily their own way? The Time

Time ſtipulated by the ſame Treaty for the *Demolition* of the Mole and Harbour, is long ſince elapſed; and no longer ſince than a Week ago, as I can prove by inconteſtable Evidence, they were actually repairing that very Mole, which ſhould have been long before this a heap of Ruins. Theſe and many other Reaſons which I forbear inſiſting upon, will I hope, explain what I have ſaid in this Paragraph, to every Gentleman's Satisfaction. Here is that which follows marked in the *Criſis*, p. 32.

'*Landau* and *Fribourg* are taken, and in 'caſe there is no intermediate Peace, *which* '*may ſtill be more immediately fatal to us*, two 'hundred thouſand *French* may be ready in 'the Spring to invade the Empire, and re-'ſtore the Elector of *Bavaria* to his forfeited 'Dominions.

Will any one ſay there was no Danger to be apprehended from a Peace, which was treating, according to our publick Accounts, without Her Majeſty's Interpoſition? And when we had Reaſon to fear that Her Majeſty's Miniſters had no opportunity given them of promoting any thing in it for the Good of their Country, as not being let into the Secret? Have not our publick Prints told us, that *England* was not mentioned in the Treaty? Do they not ſpeak of private Articles,

reciprocal Complaiſances, and ſeveral other Particulars which prove, that the Apprehenſions I here mention, were not altogether Groundleſs?

The next Paragragh is only matter of Fact, and an Inference from it, which cannot be controverted. Here it is,

'Theſe Incidents happen when the Capital of *Auſtria*, the Reſidence of his Imperial Majeſty, is viſited with the Plague. 'The Male Line of that Houſe is likely to 'terminate in himſelf; and ſhould it pleaſe 'God to take him off, and no King of the '*Romans* choſen, a Prince of the Houſe of '*Bourbon* would probably bid fair for the 'Imperial Dignity; after which Day, fare-'wel Liberty, *Europe* would be *French*.

Here is the Paragraph that follows:

'But the Scene is not yet cloſed, *Portugal*, 'which during the War, ſupplied to us the 'place of *Spain*, by ſending us vaſt Quanti-'tys of Gold in Exchange for our Wool-'len Manufactures, has only at preſent a 'Suſpenſion of Arms for its Protection, 'which Suſpenſion may poſſibly laſt no long-'er than 'till the *Catalonians* are reduc'd; 'and who knows but the old Pretentions of '*Spain* to *Portugal*, may be then revived?

'I men

'I mention the *Catalonians*, but who can
'name the *Catalonians* without a Tear!
'Brave unhappy People! Drawn into the
'War by the Encouragement of the Mari-
'time Powers, from which only a Nation
'encompaſſed by Land by *France* and *Spain*,
'could hope for Relief and Protection, now
'abandoned and expoſed to the Reſentment
'of an enraged Prince, whoſe Perſon and In-
'tereſt they have always oppoſed; and yet
'ſtill ſo fond of their Ancient Liberties, that
'tho hemmed up in a Nook of Land by
'Forces of the two Crowns, and cloſely be-
'ſieged in *Barcelona*, they chuſe rather, like
'their Countrymen the famous *Saguntines*
'of old, to periſh with their Wives and Chil-
'dren, than live in Slavery. Did the *French*
'King with a conquering Sword in his
'Hand, ever abandon the leaſt and moſt in-
'conſiderable of all his Allies? No. When
'theſe very *Catalonians* had aſſiſted him a-
'gainſt the King of *Spain*, he did not give
'up his Power of treating, 'till he had made
'the moſt honourable Conditions for them:
'Not a ſingle Man amongſt them was then
'hurt, either in his Perſon or Privileges;
'but now——Poor unhappy *Catalonians*,
'worthy of a better Fate! Good and Gra-
'cious God! To whom ſhall be attributed
'the Loſs of this brave People?. Dreadful
'the Doom of thoſe who ſhall in thy Sight
'be eſteemed their Deſtroyers!

I am

I am at a loſs with my ſelf whether the Gentleman marked out this Paragraph for taking Pity on the Poor *Catalonians*, or for having ſpoken honourably of the *French* King. Common Humanity will, I hope, be my excuſe for the firſt; and I ſhall truſt to that Gentleman's known good Nature to pardon me for the latter.

But here the Gentleman finds another Inundo, and has mark'd out a Seditious Blank: That is in reality, he is very angry with me, not for any thing I have ſaid, but for ſomething I have not ſaid: Or rather, becauſe I have not written what he would have had me write. But if he finds both my Silence and my Words Criminal, I muſt confeſs I don't know how to pleaſe him.

Sir, I am afraid I have tired out the Patience of this Honourable Houſe, in explaining theſe Particulars; eſpecially ſince I think they do ſufficiently explain themſelves to any impartial and unprejudiced Reader. As for the remaining part of the *Criſis* which has been marked, I have examined it very carefully, and am very much perplexed to find out the Paſſages in it, which can have given any Manner of Offence. The greateſt part of it conſiſts of faithful Quotations out of Hiſtory, that may give us an Abhorrence of Popery, and of a Popiſh Succeſſor, with ſeveral

ral Additional Arguments drawn from the Nature of the Roman Catholick Religion, which are the ſame which have ever been made uſe of againſt it ſince the Reformation. There are alſo ſeveral Conſiderations from the preſent Situation of Affairs in *Europe*, that may contribute to ſtrengthen our Reſolutions in the Defence of the Proteſtant Succeſſion as eſtabliſhed by our Laws. I have declared again and again in this Part of the Book, as well as in ſeveral of the foregoing parts of it, that I wou'd inculcate nothing but a due Obſervance to the *Laws* of the *Land*, and a vigorous Exertion of our ſelves in the Defence and Preſervation of them. Whatever Warmth or Spirit I have endeavoured to inſpire my Readers with, I have declared over and over, that it is for the Maintenance of thoſe Points which are eſtabliſhed by Acts of Parliament and the *Laws* of their Country. I muſt confeſs, Sir, that I am very much at a Loſs, to imagine why my Accuſer has laid his Finger upon theſe Paſſages which are ſo manifeſtly written in Favour of our Conſtitution, and in Oppoſition to Popery and the Pretender. He muſt have entertain'd a very mean Opinion of a *Britiſh* Houſe of Commons, if he could think that ſuch Paſſages would bring their Diſpleaſure upon me: And I am verily perſwaded that if Gentlemen will be pleaſed to hear them with Attention, they will be more apt to conceive an Indignation againſt

that

that Perſon, who has charged them as Criminal, than againſt him who writ them. I ſhall only beg leave to take Notice of one particular Paſſage in them, becauſe it is a full Anſwer to an Inſinuation made againſt me by one who ſpoke in a former Debate relating to this Subject. That Honourable Member was pleaſed to ſay, that I wou'd inſinuate the Gentlemen of *England* were againſt the Proteſtant Succeſſion in the Houſe of *Hanover*. Were this my Thought, Sir, I wou'd give up that Cauſe as deſperate. I ſay, Sir, if the Gentlemen of *England* were againſt it, all that he or any Body elſe could do for it, would be ineffectual. But, Sir, to ſhow you that I could not be ſo weak and unjuſt as to make this wicked Suggeſtion, I beg Leave only to read theſe following Words——'As divided 'a People as we are, thoſe who are for the 'Houſe of *Hanover* are infinitely Superior in 'Number, Wealth, Courage, and all Arts 'Military and Civil, to thoſe in the contrary 'Intereſt——Will that honourable Perſon ſay, that the Gentlemen of *England* do not fall within this Deſcription? Sir, my greateſt Hope this Day is in the Gentlemen of *England*, who are above being prejudiced by any falſe Reports which are made of me, or by any ſordid Motives that might have an Influence upon Men of baſe and Mercenary Minds. But Sir, I was going to read to you the remaining Part of the *Criſis*, as I find

find it marked upon your Table; but after having ſpoke this much of it, I ſhall leave it to its own Juſtification.

This is inſerted becauſe marked as Criminal but not defended, read or farther ſpoken to by the accuſed Member.

'But to bring theſe ſeveral 'Facts and Circumſtances home, 'we muſt obſerve, that the Per- 'ſon who ſeems to be the moſt 'favour'd by the *French* King in 'the late Treaties is the Duke of '*Savoy*, who is made King of *Si-* '*cily*; and conſidering alſo the Enlargement 'of his Territories on the Continent, by 'Ceſſion from the Emperor, is become the 'moſt powerful Prince in *Italy*. This Prince 'put in his Claim to the Crown of *England*, 'in the Right of his Wife, a Daughter of the 'late Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, Siſter to our late 'King *Charles* the Second, at the time of 'ſettling the Crown of *England* on the Houſe 'of *Hanover*. This Prince, a Man of as 'great Addreſs and Capacity as any now liv- 'ing, is ſuppoſed to have entered into a Se- 'cret and ſtrict Aliance with the Houſe of '*Bourbon*, and may therefore very well add 'to our Fears of a Popiſh Succeſſor.

'Things ſtanding thus, and the Houſe of '*Bourbon* being in the Actual Poſſeſſion of '*France* and *Spain*, bidding fair for the Con- 'queſt of *Germany*, or in Peace and good 'Underſtanding with it; what have *Great* '*Britain* and *Holland* to hope from, but the 'Mercy of *France*? What elſe have we to

'pre-

' prevent the Pretender's being impoſed on
' us, when *France* ſhall think fit? nay, in
' failure of one Pretender, he has in his Qui-
' ver a Succeſſion of them; the Dutcheſs of
' *Savoy*, or Her Sons, or the Dauphin Her
' Grandſon. *The laſt named cannot be many*
' *Years from the Throne of* France.

' In the next Place how are we diſpoſed at
' Home, for the Reception of ſuch an At-
' tempt? The Paſſions of many, which
' were raiſed ſo high by an Impudent Sugge-
' ſtion of the Church's Danger, ſeem to have
' ſubſided into a Lethargick Unconcern for
' every thing elſe; Harmleſs Men are a-
' ſhamed to own, how groſly they have been
' impoſed upon; and inſtead of reſenting the
' Abuſe, are willing to overlook it, with a
' certain Reluctance againſt being moved at
' any thing elſe; leſt they ſhould fall into the
' Mortification of being miſled a Second time.
' Many who are above being blinded by Po-
' pular Noiſe and Outcry, yet ſeem to think
' the Warmth and Zeal of a Publick Spirit to
' be little better than a Romantick Heat of
' Brain. Treaſonable Books lately diſperſed
' amongſt us, that have apparently ſtruck at
' the Proteſtant Succeſſion in the Houſe of
' *Hanover*, have paſſed almoſt without Ob-
' ſervation from the Generality of the People;
' Subtile Queries have been Publiſhed, about
' the Birth of a certain Perſon, which certain
' Perſon every Body knows to be intended for

' the

'the Pretender; The Author of the Conduct
'of the Allies has dared to drop Inſinuations
'about altering the Succeſſion; and a late
'Treaſonable Book, on the Subject of *Here-*
'*ditary Right*, has publiſhed the Will of King
'*Henry* the Eighth, which ſeems to be in-
'tended as a Pattern for the like Occaſion.

'The Converſion of the *Pretender* to our
'Religion, has been occaſionally Reported,
'and Contradicted, according to the Recep-
'tion it met with among the ſoft Fools, who
'give that groſs Story a hearing: The un-
'happy Prince, whoſe Son the Pretender calls
'himſelf, is a memorable Inſtance, how
'much ſuch Converſions are to be depended
'upon. King *James*, when Duke of *York*
'for a long time profeſſed himſelf a Prote-
'ſtant; and even not long before his Acceſſi-
'on to the Crown, ſeveral Perſons had Acti-
'ons brought againſt them for ſaying he was
'a Papiſt, and exorbitant Damages given and
'recovered; in a Word, from the Practice
'of all Papiſts, that have come to Proteſtant
'Thrones, upon Pretence of embracing the
'Reformed Religion, we have Reaſon to be-
'lieve they have Diſpenſations from *Rome* to
'perſonate any thing, for the Service of that
'Church. A Popiſh Prince will never think
'himſelf obliged by the moſt Solemn, even
'the Coronation Oath to his Proteſtant Sub-
'jects. All Oaths are as inſignificant and as

'ſoon

' ſoon forgotten, as the Services done by ' ſuch Proteſtant Subjects.

' King *James*, when Duke of *York*, was ' preſerved from the Bill of Excluſion, by the ' Church of *England*, and particularly its Bi- ' ſhops; when he came to the Crown, the ' Church was ſoon inſulted and outraged by ' him, and Her Prelates committed to the ' Tower

' Has not a Neighbouring Prince cruelly ' Treated and Baniſhed his Proteſtant Sub- ' jects, who preſerved the Crown on his ' Head?

' Did not the Princeſs *Mary* promiſe the ' Men of *Suffolk*, who joined with Her a- ' gainſt the Lady *Jean Gray*, that ſhe ' would make no Alteration in the Religion ' Eſtabliſhed by Her Brother, King *Edward* ' the Sixth? And yet as ſoon as ſhe came ' to the Crown, by the Aſſiſtance even of ' *Suffolk* Men, ſhe filled all *England*, and in ' a particular manner that Country, with ' the Flames of Martyrs. The Cruelties of ' that Reign were ſuch, that multitudes ' of Men, Women and Children were burnt ' for being Zealous Profeſſors of the Goſ- ' pel of the Lord Jeſus. In ſhort, nothing ' leſs than this can be expected from a Popiſh ' Prince; both Clergy and Laiety muſt ' ſhare the ſame Fate, all univerſally muſt ' ſubmit to the fiery Tryal, or renounce ' their Religion. Our Biſhops and Clergy

' muſt

'must all lose their Spiritual Preferments, 'or submit to Antichristian Tyranny: And 'should they submit to every thing, they 'must notwithstanding part from their 'Wives and Children, which, according to 'theChurch of *Rome*, are Harlots and Spu-'rious. The Laiety, possessed of Lands that 'formerly belonged to the Roman Catholick 'Clergy must resign their Estates, and per-'haps be made accountable for the Profits 'received,

'What can be more moving, than to 'reflect upon the Barbarous Cruelties of 'Papists beyond all Example: And these 'not accidental, or the sudden Effects of 'Passion or Provocation, but the settled re-'sult of their Religion and their Consciences.

'Above 100000 Men, Women and Chil-'dren were Murdered in the Massacre of '*Ireland*. How hot and terrible were the 'late Persecutions of Protestants in *France*, 'and *Savoy*? How frequently were the 'Massacres of the Protestants through the 'whole Kingdom of *France*, when they 'were under the Protection of the then Laws 'of that Country? how Barbarous, in a 'particular manner, was the Massacre of '*Paris*, at the Marriage of the King of '*Navarre*, the *French* King's Grand-father, 'a Protestant, with the Sister of *Charles* 'the Ninth, where the Famous Admiral of '*France*, the great *Coligny*, the glorious As-

 serter

'ſerter of the Proteſtant Intereſt, was inhu-
'manly Murdered, and the Body of that
'Heroe dragged Naked about the Streets, and
'this by the Direction of the King himſelf,
'who had but juſt before moſt treacherouſly
'given him, from his own Mouth, Aſſurance
'of his Protection? Ten thouſand Prote-
'ſtants, without diſtinction of Quality, Age
'or Sex, were put to the Sword at the ſame
'time; the King of *Navarre* himſelf nar-
'rowly eſcaped the Diſaſter, his Mother the
'Queen of *Navarre* having not long before
'been poyſoned by the ſame Faction.

'Theſe are ſome Inſtances of what muſt
'ever be expected. No Obligations on our
'ſide, no Humanity or Natural Probity on
'theirs, are of any weight; their very Re-
'ligion forces them, upon Pain of Damnati-
'on, to forget and cancel the former, and to
'extinguiſh all remains of the latter. Good
'God! To what are they reſerved, who
'have nothing to expect but what ſuch a Re-
'ligion can afford them? It cannot there-
'fore be too often repeated. We ſhould con-
'ſider, over and over again, that ſhould the
'Chain of the Proteſtant Succeſſion be once
'broke in upon, though the Pretender ſhould
'be laid aſide, the next of the Blood Royal is
'the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, after her Her two
'Sons; after them, the preſent Dauphin of
'*France*; the next in Succeſſion to him, the

Queen

' Queen of *Spain*, and her Heir; in Default ' of them, the Duke of *Orleans*, and his ' Heirs, and moſt of the other Princes of the ' Blood of *France*, all Papiſts, who may be ' enabled to demand Preference to the Houſe ' of *Hanover*; ſo that beſides the Probability ' of this Kingdom's being United to, and ' made a Province of *France*, the train of Po- ' piſh Princes is ſo great, that if one ſhould ' not compleat the utter Extirpation of our ' Religion, Laws and Liberties, the reſt ' would certainly do it.

' And here I cannot but add what is ſtill ' of more Importance, and ought to be the ' moſt prevalent of all Arguments, that ſhould ' there be the leaſt Hopes given to a Popiſh ' Succeſſor, the Life of her Majeſty will cer- ' tainly be in moſt imminent Danger; for ' there will never be wanting bloody Zealots ' of that Perſwaſion, that will think it meri- ' torious to take away her Majeſty's Life, to ' haſten the Acceſſion of ſuch a Succeſſor to ' her Throne.

' The only Preſervation againſt theſe Ter- ' rors, are the Laws before-mentioned relat- ' ing to the Settlement of the Imperial Crown ' of *Great Britain*. Thanks be to Heaven ' for that Settlement. The Princeſs *Sophia*, ' and the Heirs of her Body, being Prote- ' ſtants, are the Succeſſors to her preſent Ma-

‘ jeſty, upon her Demiſe without Iſſue. The
‘ Way is plain before our Eyes, guarded on
‘ the Right Hand, and on the Left; by all
‘ the Sanctions of God and Man, and by all
‘ the Ties of *Law* and *Conſcience*. Let thoſe
‘ who act under the preſent Settlement, and
‘ yet pretend to diſpute for an Abſolute Here-
‘ ditary Right, quiet *themſelves* with the Ar-
‘ guments they have borrowed from Popery,
‘ and teach their own Conſciences the Art of
‘ diſpenſing with the moſt ſolemn Oath to
‘ this Eſtabliſhment, whilſt they think them-
‘ ſelves bound only till Opportunity ſhall
‘ ſerve to introduce another. God be thank-
‘ ed, neither we, nor our Cauſe, ſtand in
‘ need of ſuch deteſtable Prevarication. Our
‘ Cauſe is our Happineſs. Oaths are our
‘ Judgment and Inclination. Honour and
‘ Affection call us, without the Solemnity of
‘ an Oath, to defend ſuch an Eſtabliſhment;
‘ but with it we have every Motive that can
‘ influence the Mind of Man. The Terrors
‘ of God, added to the Demands of our Coun-
‘ try, oblige and conſtrain us to let our Hearts
‘ and our Hands follow our Wiſhes and our
‘ Conſciences; and out of Regard to our
‘ Queen, our Religion, our Country, our Li-
‘ berty and our Property, to maintain and
‘ aſſert the Proteſtant Succeſſion in the Illu-
‘ ſtrious Houſe of *Hanover*: It is no time to
‘ talk with Hints and Inuendo's, but openly
‘ and honeſtly to profeſs our Sentiments, be-
‘ fore

' fore our Enemies have compleated and put
' their Deſigns in Execution againſt us. As
' divided a People as we are, thoſe who are
' for the Houſe of *Hanover*, are infinitely ſu-
' perior in Number, Wealth, Courage, and
' all Arts Military and Civil, to thoſe in the
' contrary Intereſt; beſides which, we have
' *the Laws*, I ſay *the Laws* on our ſide. And
' thoſe who by their Practices, whatever
' their Profeſſions are, have diſcover'd them-
' ſelves Enemies to the Conſtitution, and
' Friends to the Pretender, cannot make a
' Step farther without being guilty of Trea-
' ſon, without ſtanding in broad Day-light,
' confeſſed Criminals againſt their injured
' Queen and Country.

' When the People were in a Ferment,
' when Faction ran high, with irreſiſtible Pre-
' poſſeſſions againſt every thing in it's for-
' mer Channel, ſanguine Men might con-
' ceive Hopes of leading them their own
' Way. But the Building erected upon that
' Quickſand, the Favour of the Multitude, will
' ſink, and be ſwallowed up by that treach-
' erous Ground on which the Foundation was
' laid.

' It is eaſie to project the Subverſion of a
' People, when Men ſee them unaccountably
' turned for their own Deſtruction; but not
' ſo eaſie to effect that Ruin, when they are
' come to themſelves, and are ſenſibly and

' reaſonably affected with Thoughts for their
' Preſervation. We cannot help it, if ſo ma-
' ny Thouſands of our brave Brethren, who
' laid down their Lives againſt the Power of
' *France*, have dyed in vain; but we may va-
' lue our own Lives dearly, like honeſt Men.
' Whatever may befal the Glory and Wealth
' of *Great-Britain*, let us ſtruggle to the laſt
' Drop of our Blood for its Religion and Li-
' berty. The Banner under which we are to
' enter this Conflict, whenever we are cal-
' led to it, are the Laws mentioned in this
' Diſcourſe; when we do not keep them in
' Sight, we have no Colours to fly to, no Diſ-
' cipline to preſerve us, but are devoted and
' have given our ſelves up to Slaughter and
' Confuſion.

' While we act manfully under them, we
' have Reaſon to expect the Bleſſing and Aſ-
' ſiſtance of Heaven on its own Cauſe, which
' it has ſo manifeſtly acknowledg'd to be ſuch,
' by our many wonderful Deliverances, when
' all Human Aſſiſtances and Ordinary Means
' of Succour ſeemed irrevocably removed.
' We have no Pretenſions to the Divine Fa-
' vour, but from our firm Adherence to that
' Settlement, which he has, by ſo many
' Wonders and Bleſſings, after ſuch great
' Difficulties and Misfortunes, beſtowed up-
' on us, and which we have in his Sight, and
' with the Invocation of his Sacred Name,
' after preparing our ſelves at his Altar, ſo

' fre-

' frequently and ſolemnly Sworn to to defend,
' this plain, unperplexed, unalterable *Rule*
' for our Conduct, is viſibly the Work of his
' Hand to a favoured People. Her Majeſty's
' Parliamentary Title, and the *Succeſſion* in
' the Illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover*, is the Ark
' of God to *Great-Britain*, and, like that of
' Old, carries Death to the prophane Hand
' that ſhall dare to touch it.

I come now to the Cloſe of the *Engliſhman*, where I find the following Paragraph marked.

' But if God ſpares the good *Queen's Life*
' from ſuch ſecret Attempts as we have too
' much Reaſon to fear, I doubt not but to ſee
' her judge rightly of ſuch Pretences. Tho'
' Flattery carries Witchcraft, yet when ſhe ſhall
' ſee that theſe Men, inſtead of ſupporting
' her Government with their Intereſt, cannot
' carry their Elections but by repreſenting all
' others as under her Diſpleaſure; when ſhe
' ſhall ſee that they over-bear the Rights of
' Corporations by the impertinent Interpoſition
' of her Power and Name; when ſhe ſhall
' ſee that thoſe large Bodies of Men which
' the *Examiner* and others expoſe and
' exaſperate, as Men whom the *Queen* hates,
' are ſo loath to be alienated from their Hope
' in her, that their being actually caſt from
' all Preferments and Places, hath not made
' them guilty of one ſeditious, or even undu-
' tiful Action. When ſhe ſhall ſee that thoſe

‘ noiſie Men who embarraſs the Nation in e-
‘ very *Queſtion*, with calling out the *Church*;
‘ are but like the Weather Cocks and Clap-
‘ pers of the *Steeple*; and that the ſober, and
‘ laborious, and peaceable Church-*Men*, are
‘ its real Support and Pillars. When a little
‘ more time ſhall bring out things that begin
‘ to appear pretty plain already; then the
‘ Queen will ſhew ſelfiſh Men that would in-
‘ groſs her Favour, that ſhe will be the Mo-
‘ ther of all her People; and as in Spite of
‘ theſe *Men*'s ſtudied Provocations, ſhe hath
‘ their Hearts and Affections, ſo ſhe will rule
‘ with equal Juſtice towards all. If the Na-
‘ tion will be ſo wiſe as to lay aſide Parties
‘ and Party Quarrels, ſhe will have no need
‘ to keep them up, but employ all *Men* ac-
‘ cording as the Law makes them qualified,
‘ and their Virtues and Parts make them fit.
‘ But if ſeveral Intereſts, and Opinions, and
‘ Humours ſhall ſtill continue our Parties (as
‘ the *Examiner*'s Violence and Partiality hath
‘ done more to ſharpen them, than to
‘ take off the Edge) then ſhe will let all ſee,
‘ that her Crown is not to be ſunk down to
‘ to be a Partizan of either ſide, ſo as to take
‘ theſe to be her Friends and the other Ene-
‘ mies; but that ſhe is over both, and will
‘ uſe either in their Turns, according as they
‘ are fitteſt for the Service ſhe hath for them
‘ at that time. And for thoſe who ſhall dare
‘ to inſult and exaſperate the other as Ene-

‘ mies,

'mies, they are Sycophants inſtead of 'Friends; and rob her of her beſt Treaſure, 'which is the Love of her People.

I have heard ſome Exceptions taken to the two or three Lines of this Paragraph where I ſay, 'If God ſpares the good Queen's Life 'from ſuch ſecret Attempts as we have too 'much Reaſon to fear: But as to this Paſſage, I think it is ſufficiently explained by a Paragraph which I ſhall beg Leave to read in the 35th Page of the *Criſis*.

'And here I cannot but add what is ſtill 'of more Importance, and ought to be the 'moſt prevalent of all Arguments, that 'ſhould there be the leaſt Hopes given to a 'Popiſh Succeſſor; the Life of her Majeſty 'will certainly be in moſt Imminent Danger: 'For there will never be wanting bloody 'Zealots of that Perſuaſion, that will think 'it meritorious to take away her Life to ha-'ſten the Acceſſion of ſuch a Succeſſor to 'her Throne.

The remaining part of this Paragraph, is nothing elſe but the Picture of an excellent Princeſs, who notwithſtanding the Suggeſtions of unreaſonable Men, will ſtill maintain in her the Character of the beſt of Sovereigns, by ſhewing her ſelf the Mother of all her People. If any Inuendo can poſſibly be found in this Pa-

Paragraph, it can only affect those who would incline her Royal Heart, to make an unjust Distinction among her Subjects.

The next Paragraph is in the 6th Page of the Quarto Edition of the *Englishman*, in these Words.

'I insist the more upon these Revolution 'Principles, (as they are scornfully called 'now-a-days) not only because there never 'was more need of them than at this time, 'but because the best and greatest Part of the 'Clergy (especially those placed in eminent 'Stations) have in all Ages, so far as relates 'to our Nation, and as far as my small 'Reading informs me, been ready and hear-'ty Assertors of the Priviledges and Proper-'ties of the People; and why the whole Bo-'dy should not be now, is past my Compre-'hension.

I suppose my Accuser would again insinuate by this Paragraph, for Reasons best known to himself, that I speak disrespectfully of the Clergy: But how he will be able to make this out, from an Elogium which is given to their past Conduct, and a Presumption that their Future will be conformable to it, is past my Comprehensioon. I suppose he will not deny, notwithstanding his new and inexpressible Tenderness for the Clergy of the Church of *England*, that there are among them,

them, ſome Non-jurors and Aſſerters of Hereditary Right, in Oppoſition to the Laws of their Country.

The following Paragraph in the 10th Page, concerning *Dunkirk*, has already receiv'd its Anſwer. Here it is.

'*Toby* is miſtaken: At this Day it is in a 'more dangerous Condition as to *England*, 'than it was when I writ about the Importance of it. For I inſiſted upon the Demolition of the Mole and Harbour; and inſtead 'of that, they have, as exactly as if Mr. '*Tugghe*'s Memorial had been the Direction 'in this Caſe, demoliſhed the Works, and 'and left the Harbour, its Sluices, and all 'its Acceſſes that concern us, our Safety and 'our Trade, in good Condition. That is, 'they have deſtroy'd the Works in Poſſeſſion 'of the *Britiſh* Garriſon, to make that Garriſon uſeleſs, and put off the Demolition of 'the Harbour 'till Time ſhall ſerve.

The three next Paragraphs are taken out of Page 17; and are only Matters of Fact, which may be proved out of ſeveral Books and Addreſſes, as well as from common Diſcourſe, to which I dare ſay, every Gentleman in this Houſe has been a Witneſs. I ſhall therefore appeal from any little Sophiſtical Cavils which may be made againſt them, to the Honour and Veracity of thoſe Gentlemen before whom I have now the Happineſs to

to vindicate my ſelf. I will only read them, and appeal to every Gentleman's own Conſcience for the Truth of them.

'This is not all; for before this Run upon 'the Bank, a Man was thought to argue 'very well that would ſay, that for the bet-'ter Conſumption and Exportation of *Britiſh* 'Manufactures, it was abſolutely neceſſary 'to give both *Spains* to the friendly Houſe 'of *Bourbon*: But leſt a great Monarch 'ſhould be tempted by Ambition, to uſe that 'for his own, rather than our Intereſt, it 'would be expedient to keep a Check upon 'him by diſmiſſing all our Allies. For our 'further Security within our ſelves, and to 'prevent all Invaſions on Liberty and Pro-'perty, one might very lately have ſaid, 'the Dignity and Authority of Parlia-'ments could not be better ſtrengthened, 'than by placing a deſpotick Power in the 'Sovereign.

'We have ſo little Publick Spirit amongſt 'us, that theſe Things paſſed like Mathema-'tical Truths, 'till each Man grew afraid for 'his own Pocket.

'A Man who was uneaſie, before this Ac-'cident, for the Publick Welfare; and has 'obſerved nothing ſince that puts us in a 'better Condition; a Man, I ſay, who from 'only hearing the News contradicted, that

the

'the Pretender was a coming, cannot infer 'that he may not ſtill come, ought to be ex- 'cuſed for writing as I have and do, to raiſe 'in his Fellow-Subjects, a juſt Concern for 'thoſe Civil and Religious Rights, which 'they at preſent enjoy above all other Na- 'tions.

The next Paragraph is taken out of the 18th and 19th Pages of the ſame Book: And as it relates to *Dunkirk* has been already explained. Here it is

'The Queen's Garriſon is expoſed by level- 'ling the Works to the Mercy of the *French*: 'And the Mole and Harbour, which were 'firſt to be demoliſhed, ſtand as they did, '*The Terror of the* Britiſh *Nation*. Thus, 'Sir, as the Intereſt of her Majeſty and her 'People are inſeparable, I think I have be- 'haved my ſelf like a dutiful Subject, in com- 'plaining of this open Violation of her Trea- 'ty in the moſt Important Article of it.

I am now come to the laſt Paragraph, in the 22d Page of the ſame Book, as follows.

'I wiſh Thirdly, That his Electoral High- 'neſs of *Hanover* would be ſo greateful as to 'ſignifie to all the World, the perfect good 'Underſtanding he has with the Court of '*England*, in as plain Terms as her Majeſty 'was pleaſed to declare ſhe had with that

Houſe

'Houſe on her Part. This laſt Circumſtance, 'Dear *Jack*, wou'd be very pleaſing to all of 'us who are Churchmen, becauſe if the E-'lector ſhould be any way diſobliged, I am 'confident her Majeſty has given no Cauſe 'for it; and I cannot but attribute any Miſ-'underſtanding, if ſuch there ſhould be, to 'the Artifices of ſome new Converts, who 'for ought I know, may ſtill be Presbyteri-'ans in their Hearts.

I do not know whether I have been more troubled or ſurprized to hear a Gentleman affirm that theſe Words, by an Innuendo, contradict what her Majeſty had affirmed from the Throne. This Accuſation may be put in ſuch very hard Words, as may incline thoſe to be diſpleaſed with me, who attend more to the Accuſation it ſelf, than to the Grounds I have given for it. The Gentleman who brought it againſt me, would artificially have ſtopped in the Middle of the Paragraph, had not he been put upon hearing the whole read out; wherein I poſitively aſſert that if the Elector ſhould be any way diſobliged, I am confident her Majeſty has given no Cauſe for it. I ſay, Sir, I have poſitively aſſerted in the Words which immediatelly follow thoſe which were objected to me, That if the Elector of *Hanover* ſhould be any way diſobliged, I am confident her Majeſty has given no Occaſion for it: And

the

the Reaſon why I was ſo poſitive in this Aſſertion, is becauſe her Majeſty, as I before ſaid, was pleaſed to declare in plain Terms, that ſhe had a perfect good Underſtanding with the Houſe of *Hanover*.

And now, Sir, is there a Fault, after this, in wiſhing that his Electoral Highneſs would be ſo grateful as to ſignify to all the World, the perfect good Underſtanding he has with the Court of *England*. It is certain ſuch a Declaration as this would quiet the Minds of all her Majeſty's Subjects upon this important Article; and why ſhould it be Criminal in me to wiſh for that, which would ſo manifeſtly redound to the Peace of our Country? Let every Gentleman ask his own Heart, whether he would not be glad that the Elector made ſuch a Declaration as is here mentioned. And ſhall any Man be eſteemed an Offender for wiſhing that which every Man would be glad of? If there be any Reflection in this Paſſage, it is plain that it does not fall upon her Majeſty; and I queſtion not but that in a Point of this Nature, Gentlemen will be ſo juſt, as to keep my plain and expreſs Words, and not to force a guilty Interpretation upon a Paſſage which has a natural Interpretation that is innocent.

I have now explained thoſe ſeveral Paragraphs which have been laid to my Charge, and that in the ſhorteſt Manner I was able; reſerving to my ſelf the Liberty of producing

any

any further Reaſons, for the Defence of any particular Paſſage, as the Objections of my Accuſers and my own Juſtification ſhall further require.

I muſt declare, Sir, that upon the Peruſal of thoſe Paragraphs which have been marked againſt me, I have been more puzzled to know why I ought to defend them, than how they ought to be defended? And I dare appeal to any Gentleman who is uſed to read Pamphlets, whether he has ſeen any of either ſide for ſome Years paſt, that have been written with more Caution, or more throughly guarded againſt giving any Occaſion of juſt Offence.

Upon the whole Matter, I do humbly conceive that no Words which I have made uſe of can be cenſured as Criminal, in the Candid and Natural Interpretation of them, and can only be conſtrued as ſuch by diſtant Implications and far-fetch'd Innuendoes. I ſhall therefore beg Leave to produce the Authority of a very great Man, with Reference to Accuſations of this Nature, Since it is impoſſible for me to expreſs my ſelf with ſo much Judgment and Learning upon this Subject, as I find it already done to my Hand. The Paſſages I mention, are in the Speech of the now Lord Chancellor of *England*, as I find them in Doctor *Sacheverel*'s Tryal in the following Words.

'My

'My Lords, if there be a double Senſe, in 'either of which theſe Words are equally 'capable of being underſtood; if in one 'Senſe the Doctor's Aſſertion be undeniably 'clear, but in the other ſome Doubt might 'ariſe whether his Words be Criminal or 'not, the Law of *England* is more merciful 'than to make any Man a Criminal, by con-'ſtruing his Words againſt the natural Im-'port of them, in the worſt Senſe. This is 'the great Juſtice and Clemency of our Law 'in every Man's Caſe.

And a little lower.

'My Lords, if the Manner of this ſolemn 'Proſecution has not alter'd the Nature of 'Things, I hope I may inſiſt, without put-'ting in a Claim of Right in behalf of all the 'Factious and Seditious People in the King-'dom, to revile the Government at Pleaſure, 'that by the happy Conſtitution under which 'we live, a Subject of *England* is not to be 'made Criminal by a labour'd Conſtruction 'of doubtful Words; or, when that cannot 'ſerve, by departing from his Words, and 'reſorting to his Meaning. Too many 'Inſtances there were of this nature, before 'the late happy Revolution; but that put an 'end to ſuch Arbitrary Conſtructions.

After theſe Excellent Words of this Great Man, every thing I can ſay will appear very flat and low; for which Reaſon I ſhall give you but very little further Trouble. I have heard it ſaid in this Place, that no private Man ought to take the liberty of expreſſing his Thoughts as I have done, in matters relating to the Adminiſtration. I do own, that no private Man ought to take a Liberty which is againſt the Laws of the Land. But, Sir, I preſume that the Liberty I have taken, is a legal Liberty; and obnoxious to no Penalty in any Court of Juſtice. If it had, I cannot believe that this extraordinary Method would have been made uſe of, to diſtreſs me upon that account. And why ſhould I here ſuffer for having done that, which perhaps in a future Tryal would not be judged Criminal by the Laws of the Land? Why ſhould I ſee Perſons, whoſe particular Province it is to proſecute Seditious Writers in the Courts of Juſtice, imploying their Eloquence againſt me in this Place? I think that I have not offended againſt any Law in Being: I think that I have taken no more Liberty than what is conſiſtent with the Laws of the Land: If I have, let me be tried by thoſe Laws. Is not the Executive Power ſufficiently armed to inflict a proper Puniſhment on all kinds of Crimiuals? why then ſhould one part of the Legiſlative Power, take this Executive Power into its own Hands?

Hands? But, Sir, I throw my ſelf upon the Honour of this Houſe, who are Able, as well as Obliged, to skreen any Commoner of *England* from the Wrath of the moſt powerful Man in it; and who will never Sacrifice a Member of their own Body, to the Reſentments of any ſingle Miniſter.

Here I ended in the Houſe. Moſt of what I ſaid was put into my Mouth by my Friends, whoſe Kindneſs and Diſcretion preventing my adding to theſe forcible Arguments many honeſt Truths, which they thought would Authoriſe a Severity from the the Houſe to me, rather than ſecure me againſt their Reſentment. I cannot, as an indifferent Man, dare to aſſert what I would have done, under the Sanction of a Member of Parliament, ſpeaking in Parliament. The Happineſs of convincing ſome honeſt Gentlemen who were againſt me, was not to be my Fate: But, (barring that I made the beſt and moſt reſpectful Obeyſance I could to the Speaker;) with a very awkard and unwilling Air I withdrew; and the next News I heard was, that I was Expelled.

It is Juſtice due to Human Nature, to ſignifie to an Offender why he is puniſhed. It is a Juſtice to inform the meaneſt Man in Human Society, why he is diſtinguiſhed from the reſt to his Diſadvantage; it is a Chriſtian Duty to give him the C trition

he ought to have, and work in him a Repentance from Arguments towards his Conviction. But the Houſe, without letting me hear one Reaſon, or Shadow of an Argument to prove me Seditious, have peremptorily pronounced me ſo.

To hear a Man ſpeak, without being moved by what he ſays, or controverting it before Sentence, is only to give Exerciſe to an hard Heart; a ridiculous Candour, that is an Aggravation of an Injury, by putting on the Face of Juſtice. I ſhall therefore, as briefly as I can, conſider the Matter yet further: For I am now as much concerned to ſhow why this Sentence ſhould not be a Reproach to me, now it is paſſed, as I was before to ſpeak againſt its being pronounced.

It may be objected, that I am ſure to come off, when I who am the Criminal, am alſo to be the Judge. I may make the ſame Objection againſt the Determination of the Houſe, they who were the Judges, were alſo the Accuſers. In the firſt place I aver, that if I had, as indeed I have not, been Guilty of raiſing groundleſs Fears to the Diſadvantage of the Miniſtry, it is leſs the Part of the Houſe of Commons, than any other Body of Men, to be Inquiſitors in Favour of them. Their more graceful Province had been to have encouraged what I had to ſay, if I had had Objections, rather than ſuppreſſed me for offering at it. It had been well, after ſuch

a Search, to have chaſtiſed or approved the Man accuſed, according to his Deſerts. But my Fate is ſo Extraordinary, that I am puniſhed by the Houſe of Commons, (where Freedom of Speech is an eſſential Privilege) for ſaying what was Criminal no where elſe. Had what I have written been ſpoken in the Houſe of Commons, no Man will pretend to ſay it had been Criminal: How then when it was Innocent in another Place, came it to be Crimnal by being produced there? I was ſafe, when in Circumſtances that rendered me more accountable, and run into Danger by being privileg'd.

But I flatter my ſelf that I ſhall convince all my Fellow-Subjects of my Innocence from the following Circumſtances, allowed to be of Weight in all Trials of this Nature. *From the general Character of the Offender, the Motive to his Offence*, and the *Character of the Perſons who appear for him, oppoſed to thoſe who are againſt him.* There are ſome Points to be allowed, which bear hard againſt the Priſoner at the Bar; and we muſt grant this by way of Confeſſing and Avoiding, and give it up, that the Defendant has been as great a Libertine as a Confeſſor. We will ſuppoſe then a Witneſs giving an Account of him, who, if he ſpoke true, would ſay as follows.

I have been long acquainted with Mr. *Steele*, who is accuſed as a malicious Writer; and can give an Account of him (from what

he uſed to confeſs to us his private Friends) what was the chief Motive of his firſt appearing in Print. Beſides this, I have read every thing he has writ or publiſhed. He firſt became an Author when an Enſign of the Guards, a way of Life expoſed to much Irregularity; and being thoroughly convinced of many things, of which he often repented, and which he more often repeated, he writ, for his own private Uſe, a little Book called the *Chriſtian Hero*, with a deſign principally to fix upon his own Mind a ſtrong Impreſſion of Virtue and Religion, in oppoſition to a ſtronger Propenſity towards unwarrantable Pleaſures. This ſecret Admonition was too weak; he therefore Printed the Book with his Name, in hopes that a ſtanding Teſtimony againſt himſelf, and the Eyes of the World (that is to ſay) of his Acquaintance upon him in a new light, might curb his Deſires, and make him aſhamed of underſtanding, and ſeeming to feel what was Virtuous, and living ſo quite contrary a Life. This had no other good Effect, but that from being thought no undelightful Companion, he was ſoon reckoned a diſagreeable Fellow. One or two of his Acquaintance thought fit to miſuſe him, and try their Valour upon him; and every Body he knew meaſured the leaſt Levity in his Words and Actions, with the Character of a Chriſtian Hero. Thus he found himſelf ſlighted, inſtead of being encouraged, for his Declarations

tions as to Religion; and it was now incumbent upon him to enliven his Character, for which Reaſon he writ the Comedy called *The Funeral*, in which (tho' full of Incidents that move Laughter) Virtue and Vice appear juſt as they ought to do Nothing can make the Town ſo fond of a Man as a ſucceſsful Play, and this, with ſome Particulars enlarged upon to his Advantage, (for Princes never hear Good or Evil in the manner others do) obtained him the Notice of the King: And his Name, to be provided for, was in the laſt Table-Book ever worn by the Glorious and Immortal *William* the Third.

His next Appearance as a Writer was in the Quality of the loweſt Miniſter of State, to wit, in the Office of Gazetteer. Where he worked faithfully according to Order, without ever erring againſt the Rule obſerved by all Miniſtries, to keep that Paper very innocent and very inſipid.

It is believed, it was to the Reproaches he heard every Gazette Day againſt the Writer of it, that the Defendant owes the Fortitude of being remarkably negligent of what People ſay, which he does not deſerve; Except in ſo great Caſes as this now before Us. His next Productions were ſtill Plays, then the *Tatler*, then the *Spectator*, then the *Guardian*, then the *Engliſh-man*. And now, tho' he has publiſhed, and ſcribled ſo very much, He may defie any Man to find one Leaf in all

theſe Writings which is not, in point, a Defence againſt this Imputation, to find one Leaf which does not mediately or immediately tend to the Honour of the Queen, or the Service of the Nobility and Gentry, or which is not particularly reſpectful to the Univerſities. Farther this Witneſs ſayeth not.

When a Man is accuſed, it is allowable not only to ſay as much as will refute his Adverſary, but if he can he may aſſert Things of himſelf Praiſe-worthy, which ought not to be called Vanity in him, but Juſtice againſt his Opponent, by proving it is not only Falſe what is ſaid as to the Fault laid to his Charge, but alſo, that he has exerted the contrary Virtue.

You may obſerve that the Votes of the 18th of *March* imply, that the Writings were under Conſideration, as containing ſeveral Paragraphs *tending to Sedition, highly reflecting upon Her Majeſty, and arraigning Her Majeſty's Adminiſtration and Government.* There was not one Argument uſed to ſupport this heavy Accuſation againſt the Member; but I ſuppoſe, upon Conſideration that his reflecting upon the Queen ſo directly, and arraigning Her Adminiſtration and Government, was juſt the quite contrary to what he had done, the Ill Behaviour towards Her Majeſty is in the Reſolution ſcattered among Her Subjects, and it was thought, ſince it was all equally true, it would be expedient to wire-

draw

draw the Offence, and for the Amuſement of the Vulgar, to ſay more diffuſively, that the Pamphlets were Scandalous and Seditious *Libels*, containing *many Expreſſions highly reflecting upon Her* Majeſty, *and upon the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy* & Univerſities *of this Kingdom, maliciouſly inſinuating, that the Proteſtant Succeſſion is in Danger under Her Majeſty's* Adminiſtration, *and tending to alienate the Affections of Her Majeſty's good Subjects, and to Creat Jealouſies and Deviſions among them*.

This is a very pleaſant Proceeding. The Indictment before them, was, that the accuſed Member had reflected upon the Queen; ay marry has he, ſay they, and upon the Nobility and Gentry, Clergy and Univerſities, and he did this alſo with a malicious Intimation, that the Succeſſion was in Danger under Her Majeſty's Adminiſtration, and ſo forth. What need was there the Man ſhould be Guilty of more than he was indicted for? Let this Reſolve be taken out of its Formality, and it is juſt as if they had ſaid, he has been Guilty of Treaſon, and alſo of ill Manners. But the huddle of Offences was only to make a Hue and Cry, and the Buſineſs was, that he ſhould be marked; and as they well knew from the general Corruption and Meanneſs of the World, that if the Crimes did not diſtinctly hurt every Sort of People, they would not be Zealous enough for the

ſake

ſake of the Queen only, to vilifie and diſtreſs the accuſed Man: But the Succeſſion, ſay they, he ſays is in Danger *under Her Majeſty's Adminiſtration.* This Phraſe is ambiguous and Evaſive, it retains the Offence againſt the Queen, only to hide Miniſters. This is a very thin Mask, for it is no help to them; if any Man ſhould, in a proper Place, have any thing to object to their Conduct; it would be no Anſwer to urge againſt ſuch an Impeachment, that this was aſſerting ill things are done under Her Majeſty's Adminiſtration: All manner of Crimes are committed under every Prince's Adminiſtration, but for that Reaſon, are thoſe Princes to be loaded with the Guilt? Or would a Man that ſhould complain of thoſe Crimes, be ſuppoſed to intend Treaſonably, or to aſſert that they are owing to his Prince's Adminiſtration? Should a Man be robbed, and when he asked for a Warrant againſt the Offender be anſwered by the Magiſtrate, 'tis arraigning Her Majeſty's Adminiſtration to report any ſuch Thing? If any Epithets may be added to any Perſons and Things, provided they add the Words, *under Her Majeſty's Adminiſtration*, Approbation and Blame in thoſe that uſe them will be both alike, and *Safe*, *Honourable*, or any other Adjectives will loſe their Force, as well as the Words *Seditious and Scandalous* It is very poſſible the worſt Deſigns imaginable may be laid, under Her Ma-

Majeſty's Adminiſtration, and Her Sacred Majeſty's Honour no way impared, as She (without Diſparagement to Her Wiſdom it may be ſuppoſed) may not be conſcious of all that paſſes. Therefore on this Occaſion, I repeat that the Phraſe *under Her Majeſty's Adminiſtration*, is only a feint way of coming up to my Indictment, and amuſing the Populace with a ſhow of what is not in Reality.

But to proceed with the Evidence on the ſide of the Offender. Taking the Words of the Reſolution as they lye. It would be a Contradiction to all Mr. *Steele's* paſt Writings to ſpeak to the Diſadvantage of the Nobility and Gentry. The War that the *Tattler* brought upon himſelf, for ſtigmatizing and expelling Sharpers out of their Company, is a Merit towards them, that will outweigh this Allegation, though it comes whence it does. That Gameſters, Knaves and Pickpockets are no longer the Men of Faſhion, or mingled with ſo good an Air among People of Quality as formerly, is much owing to Mr. *Steele*; that a licentious Treatment of a Clergyman, as a Cleargyman, is leſs practiſed, either on the Stage or in Common Converſation, is much owing to the Contempt and Ridicule on all ſuch falſe and ſcandalous Pretenſions to Wit in the Writings which the Publick has had from Mr *Steele*: That an Univerſity Education is reckoned a neceſſary

Qua-

Qualification to an *Engliſh* Gentleman, and the leſs Accompliſhments without thoſe Arts appear frivolous, though of great uſe with them, is more owing to Mr. *Steele* than to any other Author, Tranſcriber or Publiſher (or under whatever Claſs you Rank him) that ever made uſe of Pen and Ink: But it ſeems the Courtſhip in theſe Reſolutions was to be made with no leſs a Reſignation than that of all their Senſe and Conſcience.

All this is as clear and known as the Sun at Noon-day. But it may be anſwered, that though as to his former Writings this may be true; our Author or Publiſher might grow Vain and Impertinent, and conceive new Thoughts of himſelf from borrowed Excellencies of other Men, his Correſpondents; and without Fear or good Manners run into the Crimes of which he here ſtands accuſed. I ſhall therefore give an account of the principal Thing laid to his Charge, which is the *Criſis*, and the occaſion of its being written.

Mr. *Steele* happened one Day to make a Viſit to a Gentleman of the *Temple*, who fell into Diſcourſe on Publick Tranſactions; and complaining that dangerous Inſinuations were every Day thrown among the People, ended his Diſcourſe, by ſaying, that he thought Mr. *Steele* from the kind Reception the World gave to what he publiſhed, might be more Inſtrumental towards curing this Evil

Evil, than any private Man in *England*. After much Sollicitation, the Gentleman obſerv'd, the Evil ſeem'd only to flow from meer Inattention to the real Obligations under which we lie towards the Houſe of *Hanover*; if therefore, continued he, the Laws to that Purpoſe were reprinted together, with a warm Preface and a well urged Peroration, it is not to be imagined what good Effect it would have. Mr. *Steele* was immediately ſtruck with the Thought, and told him, that he hoped ſo good a Deſign would repay his turning his Thoughts wholly to it for a Day or two, under Promiſe of half what the Sale of a Work, which would be every Body's Reading, ſhould produce. This was agreed, and there is hardly a Sentiment or main Poſition in the Pamphlet, which that Gentleman did not put together, as lawful and warrantable to be ſaid, and delivered into Mr. *Steel's* Hands to be publiſhed in the Dreſs and Manner he ſhould think fit. But Mr. *Steele* was not content with writing the *Criſis* on this Plan, and Reviſing each Paragraph with this Gentleman only, but he alſo ſent different Copies to Men of different Talents and Capacities, and with all their Corrections, according to the Authority of the Corrector, Mr. *Steele*, with his Council at his Elbow, put the laſt Hand to what he publiſhed under the Name of the *Criſis*. Very able Men paſſed and approved every Word

of

of it. Mr. *Steele* therefore thought it a moſt neceſſary, ſeaſonable and worthy Action to publiſh it.

The Care and Caution with which it was writ appears ſufficiently in that it much offended, and the Author was not in the Courts of Juſtice brought to anſwer for the Offence. But alas! He was to ſuffer for it, where, of all places in the World, he ought to have been encouraged and protected.

But I will haſten to a better Defence than all this, which is.

That the Gentlemen in the Liſt at the Beginning of this Narrative, give their Negative to the Votes againſt the Author.

That the Map at the End of this Book is the State of the Caſe of *Dunkirk*, and explains that the True Deſign of the *French*, was only to make *Dunkirk* ſtronger.

That there are theſe Words in her Majeſty's Proclamation of the firſt of laſt Month, concerning the *Pretender* at *Barleduc*, *Notwithſtanding We have ſince inſiſted upon and renewed Our Inſtances in the moſt preſſing Manner for that Purpoſe, Our Endeavours have not proved effectual, but he ſtill continues and is entertain'd there.*

Theſe Circumſtances of *Dunkirk*, and the Stay of the *Pretender* at *Barleduce*, do ſtrongly maintain the Grounds all Men ought to have for Suſpicion has been the Chief Aim in all the Political Writings of this Author

That

That it was ſincere in him, will appear from this Letter, wherein he reſigned his Office to my Lord Treaſurer.

To the Right Honourable,

The Lord High Treaſurer of *Great Britain.*

Bloomsbury Square, *June* 4, 1713.

My Lord,

I Preſume to give your Lordſhip this Trouble, to acquaint you, that having an Ambition to ſerve in the enſuing Parliament, I humbly deſire your Lordſhip will pleaſe to accept of my Reſignation of my Office as Commiſſioner of the Stamp Revenue.

I ſhould have done this ſooner, but that I heard the Commiſſion was paſſing without my Name in it, and I would not be guilty of the Arrogance of reſigning what I could not hold. But having heard this ſince contradicted, I am obliged to give it up, as with great Humility I do by this preſent Writing. Give me Leave on this Occaſion to ſay ſomething as to my late Conduct, with Relation to the late Men in Power, and to aſſure you whatever I have done, ſaid or writ, has proceeded from no other Motive, but the Love of what I think Truth.

For

For meerly as to my own Affairs, I could not wish any Man in the Administration rather than your self, who favour those that become your Dependants, with a greater Liberality of Heart than any Man I have ever before observed. When I had the Honour of a short Conversation with you, you were pleased not only to signifie to me, That I should remain in this Office, but to add, that if I would name to you one of more Value, which would be more commodious to me, you would favour me in it. I am going out of any particular Dependance on your Lordship, and will tell you with the Freedom of an indifferent Men, that it is impossible for any who thinks and has any publick Spirit, not to tremble at seeing his Country, in its present Circumstances, in the Hands of so daring a Genius as yours. If Incidents should arise that should place your own Safty, and what ambitious Men call Greatness, in a Ballance against the General Good, our All depends upon your Choice under such a Temptation. You have my hearty and fervent Prayers to Heaven, to avert all such Dangers from you. I thank your Lordship for the Regard and Distinction which you have at sundry times show'd me, and wish you, with your Country's Safety, all Happiness and Prosperity. Share, my Lord, your good Fortune with whom you will; while it lasts, you will want no Friends; but if any adverse Day happens to you, and I live to see it,

it, you will find I think my ſelf obliged to be your Friend and Advocate. This is talking in a ſtrange Dialect from a private Man to the firſt of a Nation; but to deſire only a little, exalts a Man's Condition to a level with thoſe who want a great deal. But I beg your Lordſhip's Pardon, and am with great Reſpect

My LORD:

Your Lordſhip's moſt Obedient,

and moſt Humble Servant,

Richard Steele.

There is nothing here ſaid like a Male-content, but like an honeſt Man, who gave up every thing to the Love of his Country; where Obſequiouſneſs interfered with that, he was ready to force a Temper, the moſt unhappily ductile, to go through all Oppoſitions and Diſcountenances in the Way to his Duty. It has been frequently ſaid in the Writings of this Publiſher, that all Merit conſiſts in the Regulation of the Will, and that is the only Merit pretended to in this Apology. The Wit, the Eloquence, the Learning in his Writings, the Town may as it pleaſes give to others, but the Application of them all muſt

be aſcribed to this Publiſher; and I cannot but again and again repeat, that there is no Man on whom a Cenſure, with *maliciouſly* in it, could fall, from whoſe Character it could be more remote. The Writings excepted againſt were ſufficiently defended in the Houſe, and nothing ſaid in oppoſition to all that was urged in favour of the accuſed Member. Therefore as thoſe accuſed Writings were Innocent, and all the drift of his other Writings unconteſtably Virtuous, What can any Gentleman ſay to himſelf, or his Country; for joining in ſo unreaſonable a Vote againſt him? Let any Gentleman conſider, if the Vote had been propoſed to take away this Man's Life, with what Horror would the whole Aſſembly, except the Meſſengers of the Treaſury, have rejected ſuch a Motion? But let any Gentleman think on, and he will find, that this Reſolution againſt Mr. *Steele*'s Property in the Houſe, and his good Name in the World, was only the ſame Injuſtice, in a leſs degree. Why then would they ſuſpend their Good nature and Generoſity, as *Engliſhmen*, the natural bent of their Country, of running to the Aid of the Afflicted, to be made Tools, and form a *Poſſe*, to aſſiſt the Meſſengers of the Treaſury againſt their Fellow Member?

No Man could help plainly ſeeing, that Mr. *Steele* in theſe Writings had gone as far as

he could with any Safety to his Liberty or Life, and that he got into the House of Commons, for no Reason but to say more for the Good of his deluded Country: And must the House of Commons frustrate this Design?

There are many Instances of Punishments in the House for being too obsequious to the Court against the People; but Mr. Steele *is the first that fell there for being Audacious towards Ministers, in behalf of his Country.*

But be all that was done against him forgotten, and the Name of the Actors in it, except the Messengers themselves, never mentioned with this Circumstance of their Lives; but let those who were for an oppressed Gentleman, their Fellow-Citizen, against as high an Insolence as ever was offered to the Legislature, be had in everlasting Remembrance. Many of them have taken care of that for themselves, by illustrious Actions; many of them, with the assistance of personal Accomplishments, as well as Youth, Birth, and Fortune, are blooming and growing in the Pursuits of Virtue and Honour; the rest of them are Men of the greatest Fortunes in this Realm, who are come to the Evening of honourable Days, and have nobler Prospects in View, than to follow Mercenaries with their Vote against an *Impotent Patriot*; who attempted, from the irresistible Force of the

Love

Love he bears Mankind, with Poverty and Disgrace staring in his Face, to rouse his Country out of a Lethargy; a Lethargy from which she has awaked only to behold Her Danger, and upon seeing it too great has only sighed, folded her Arms, and returned to her Trance.

FINIS.

THE OCEAN

Downs

N.D. de Graveline

Old Mardick

Graveline

Loon

Grauvaick

Bourbourg

Downs

Downs

Little Sinten

Great Sinten

Waterpass of the North

Canal of Bourbourg

DUNKIRK Demolish'd

Canal of Nieuport

Fort Louis Demolish'd

Canal de la Moer

Fort Francois

BERG

Colme R.

A MAP of the Places adjacent to DUNKIRK, with ye Project of ye NEW PORT at Mardick.

A. A Dyke to Keep ye Waters in ye Port.
B. A Key. wch keeps up Fifteen Foot Water.
C. A Canal of 120 foot broad.
D. The Sluice to receive Vessells from Sea into the New Canal.
E. A Canal to be cut thro the Downs.
F. A Peerhead.
G. A Sluice to let in the Inland Waters to cleanse and deepen the Port.
H. A Canal to hold the Inland Waters to serve the Sluice marked G.
I. A Little Cut or Canal to preserve ye Communication with Berg de la Moer. & Bourbourg.
K. A Sluice thro wch small Vessells may transport Goods taken on board from Greater Ships, to Berg. Furnes. St. Omer. Ypres, & other places.
L. Grounds lyable to be Overflowed between the New Canal and the Downs.

N. B. A Great Quantity of Stones, Brick, & Timber from the Demolition of Dunkirk is conveyed along the Canal of Bourbourg, & the Outergan, or Waterpass of ye North, by the French, to build a Citadelle at the Sluice marked D.

The Profile of the NEW CANAL

10 50 100 Foot

½ 1 2

English Miles